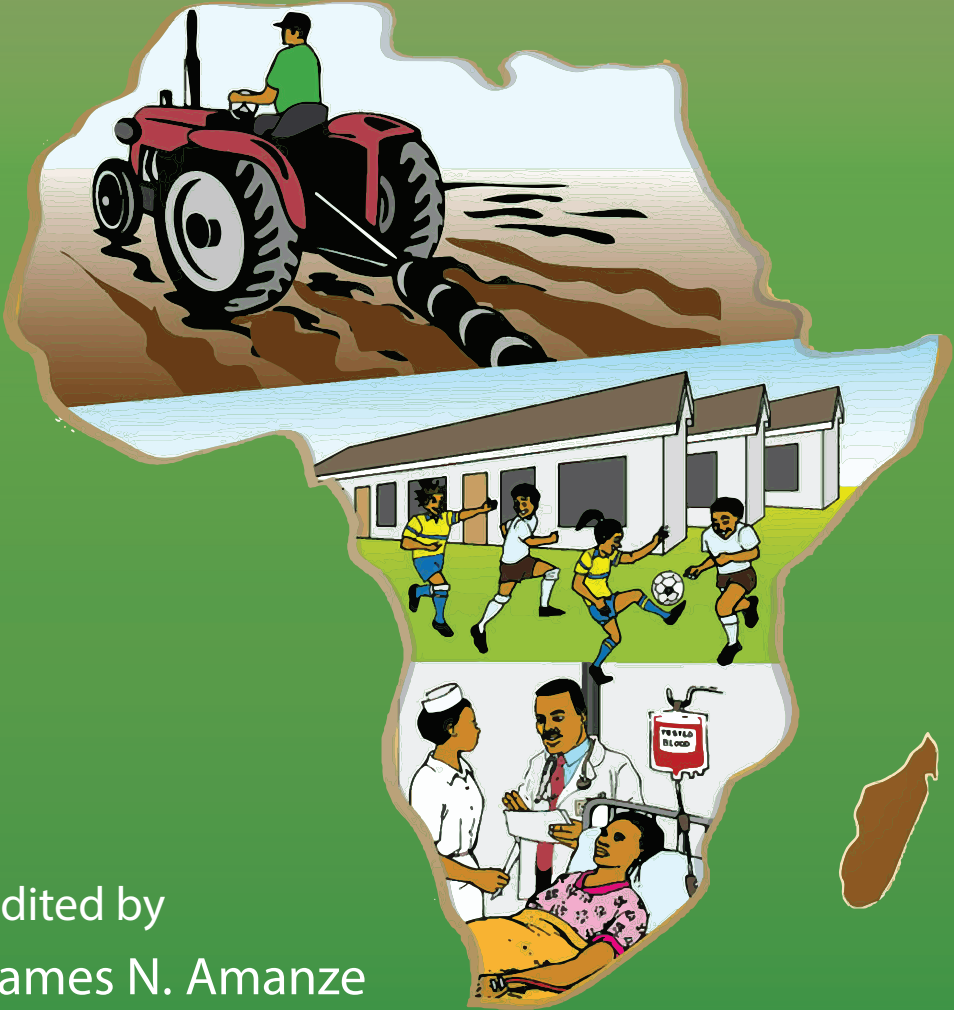


Vol: 1

Religion & Development in Southern and Central Africa



Edited by
James N. Amanze
Maake Masango
Ezra Chitando
Lilian Siwila



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**Religion and Development
in Southern and Central Africa
Vol. I**

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Introduction

This book is a result of a joint conference, which was held from 18th-22nd July 2017 under the theme *Religion, Citizenship and Development – Southern African Perspectives.* It was jointly organized by the Association of Theological Institutions in Southern and Central Africa (ATISCA), All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), Bread for the World (BfdW), Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians (CIRCLE) and Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC). It was hosted by the Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy at the University of Zimbabwe, Harare. Apart from ATISCA members the conference was also attended by the Circle of Concerned African Women Theologians (The CIRCLE) in large numbers. The theme of the conference was skillfully crafted and adopted in order to underline the importance and significance of religion in the socio-economic development of people in the world generally and in Southern and Central Africa in particular.

The thematic focus on development was conceptualized with regard to the future of the whole people in the Southern Africa region. The notion of "development" includes, in its broadest sense, both economic and socio-cultural dimensions. It also encompasses religious values as they are an essential component within the socio-cultural dimension of an integrated concept of development. Development by most experts is conceived as the process of transition from one type of economic system to another, implying both economic growth (increased production and increased per capita income) and socio-cultural change. In modern times, it is widely argued that the primary concern of development should be people, because if it is not for people then development is not worthy of the name. In this regard, people should be the principal component for development and the object of the exercise. In this sense, development offers people increased control over their lives, the environment and their destiny. It enhances their dignity, freedom, justice, wholeness and a sense of self-worth. It is through development that people are able to achieve full realization of their God-given potential and become fully human. In the recent religious turn of the international development debate which has taken place in UN circles it has become increasingly clear that the role of religious communities, their values, social services as well

as their ideas and concepts play a significant role in formulating a holistic concept of development.

Theologically, it is the mission of the Church and theologians to take active part in the socio-economic transformation of human beings so that they may become their best and reflect more concretely the image and likeness of God free from the oppressive powers of poverty, ignorance, disease, and alienation from one another as a result of social, political, economic and religious conflicts. The Church and theologians have the theological and prophetic task to incarnate in their agenda the socio-economic programmes of their people. This is the only way in which the Church and theologians will remain relevant to the people, whom they have been called upon to serve. Consequently, churches and theologians need to develop an integral theology of development which is essentially an extension of the theology of creation, incarnation, redemption and sanctification. Generally speaking, the theology of development should be the continuation of the three-fold mission of God the Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier.

The contributors to this book have contributed significantly to the debate that socio-economic development understood as transformation should be aimed at promoting and enhancing the dignity and full participation of all the people of God and that such undertaking should be supported and given shape by the work of the Church and theologians since it is part of their divine mandate. It is the duty of the Church and theologians to devote part of their ministry ministering spiritually and physically to the needs of the world in the field of health care services, education, economic growth and political emancipation. All in all, the conference organized in order to explore the thesis that development advocates the full realization of humanity in Christ who, by taking human flesh, sanctified things material that nourish the body in accordance with the will of God. Christian involvement in activities of social, economic and political nature for the good of humanity has to do with the manifestation and fulfillment of God's love as manifested in the definition of the ministry of Jesus of Nazareth whose mission was "to preach the good news to the poor ... to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty those who are oppressed, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord" (Lk4:18-19 RSV). The role of the Church and

theologians, therefore, should be to enable people to receive the God-given opportunities of spiritual growth, employment, education, healing and prosperity for all.

It should be noted that more than 130 participants attended the conference. They came from various institutions in Southern, Central and Eastern Africa as well as Europe. These included, among others, the University of Zimbabwe, Kgolagano College of Theological Education, Bread for the World, University of KwaZulu Natal, Zimbabwe Open University, Justo Mwale University, University of South Africa, Mutare Teachers' College, Catholic University of Zimbabwe, University of Swaziland, Bishop Gaul College, University of Botswana, United Seminary of Ricatla, United Church of Christ in Zimbabwe, Kwame Nkrumah University-Zambia, Africa University, United Church of Zambia University, All Africa Conference of Churches, Mzuzu University, Great Zimbabwe University, University of Malawi, University of Zambia, Zimbabwe Ezekiel Guti University, Stellenbosch University, Free State University, Ndejje University, University of Cape Town, University of Pretoria, Wadzanai Training Centre, Rice University, Zimbabwe Council of Churches, Arrupe College, Institute of Public Affairs, Murray Theological College, Rhodes University, Living Waters Theological Seminary and Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia. The conference was also attended by a large contingency of members of the Concerned African Women Theologians commonly known as the CIRCLE. It can thus be seen that the conference was well attended. It was one of the most successful ATISCA conferences.

A lot of papers were presented during the conference rich in theme and variation. After the conference, the papers were revised thoroughly, reviewed and revised again whenever it was necessary in order to enhance their quality and international standards before they were published in this book. Thus this book is not made up of conference proceedings but papers which went through a stringent review process. The papers in the book are divided into two volumes. Volume one consists of papers which directly discuss religion and development in one form or another. The second volume contains papers that discuss religion and other pertinent issues related to development. The papers are grouped into sub-themes for ease of reference. These include Citizenship and Development,

Migration and Development, Disability and Development, Pentecostal Churches and Development and Religion and Society. All in all, despite a divergence of sub-themes in volume two, all of them point to issues to do with the role of religion in development in Southern and Central Africa today. The contributors of the chapters contained in these two volumes hope that the information contained herein will go a long way to provide significant and relevant knowledge that will assist our people to participate fully and meaningfully in the development of their respective communities as we move from capital based to knowledge-based economies.

Professor James N. Amanze

ATISCA SECRETARIAT

26th March 2019

Contents

Introduction	5
Notes on Contributors	11
Chapter 1: New Trends in the Global Discourse on Religion and Development	24
Chapter 2: The Role of Religion in the Development of the People by the People for the People	53
Chapter 3: Religion and Development in Southern Africa	69
Chapter 4: The Contributions of Religion in Development: The Case of Chasefu Mission of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) Synod of Zambia	81
Chapter 5: The <i>Imago Dei</i> and Religious Communities as Catholic Development Cogs. The Gweru-Masvingo Diocese 1991-2017	110
Chapter 6: Religious Values, Women and the Concept of Development	125
Chapter 7: Community Based Theological Education for Social Transformation of Women in Chongwe District, Zambia	143
Chapter 8: Witchcraft, Revelation and Education in the Pursuit of Development	165
Chapter 9: Philosophical and Religious Reflections on Sustainable Development Goals: Revisiting Indigenization in Zimbabwe	179
Chapter 10: God is Watching You	195
Chapter 11: Religious Communities, FBOs and the Sustainable Development Goals Agenda: Crucial Religious Actors and Assets for Achieving Core Goals	206
Chapter 12: "Let the Children Come:" A Theological Reflection on Jesus' Call for Children's Development Agenda in Zambia	217
Chapter 13: Shona Proverbs and the Concept of Development	233

Chapter 14: The Central Kalahari Game Reserve Land Dispute: Law, Economics and Theological Perspective	245
Chapter 15: The Christian Missionaries' Messianic' Role in African Community Development. Whose Story, Which Lenses and Whose Voice?	260
Chapter 16: The Role of Capernaum Trust in Promoting Quality Education in Zimbabwe	282
Chapter 17: Bringing God to the Forefront Once More. The Need for Theological Education in Sustainable Development: The Botswana Case	294
Chapter 18: Religion as a Significant Ingredient of Development	309
Chapter 19: The Role of Religious Communities and FBOs in Promoting Sustainable Development	323
Chapter 20: Understanding <i>Prasadam</i> as a Hare Krishna Movement's Initiative to Alleviate Poverty in Botswana	335
Chapter 21: "Let My People Go." An Exploration of the Exodus Experience in the Light of Development in Southern Africa	344
Chapter 22: Some Leadership Lessons from Ezra-Nehemiah for African Development	355
Chapter 23: Africa for Africans and Zimbabwe for Zimbabweans! A Critical Interrogation of the Concept of Development in Zimbabwe	369
Chapter 24: Faith-Based Organizations and their Role in HIV and AIDS Care and Treatment in Zimbabwe	381
Chapter 25: Inculturating <i>Nhimbe</i> in Response to Vatican II Teaching on Collaborative Ministry for Sustainable Development in Zimbabwe	396
Chapter 26: Religion and Development in Zambia: A Case of the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection	416
Chapter 27: Rewriting the Sacred Script: Johanne Marange Apostolic Church (JMAC) and Development in Zimbabwe	439

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Chapter 1: New Trends in the Global Discourse on Religion and Development

Dietrich Werner

Introduction

It is the intention of this chapter to give an introduction into some aspects and new trends in the discourse on religion and development as perceived by major actors in Christian development cooperation.¹ The chapter will, among other things, (a) reflect on reasons for the traditional disconnect between religion and development which has been challenged in the newly emerging international discourse on religion and development; (b) highlight some factors from the perspective of global religious demographics which underline the urgency of a change of perspectives on religion and development; (c) reflect on the new relevance of religion in relation to factors that have increased religious extremism and abuse of religion; (d) spell out the added value of Protestant churches for the religion and development discourse as understood from their Reformation heritage background; (e) spell out learning potentials of the religion and development discourse for governments, development agencies and institutions of research and education; and (f) identify some crucial challenges and priorities for applying the discourse on religion and development to the current context of churches' involvement in a peaceful transition in Zimbabwe and Southern Africa in general.

In terms of my background, I am speaking from the perspective of the National Protestant Development Agency in Germany, *Bread for the World*. In this case, it is helpful to explain what the *Bread for the World*

¹ The author serves as Senior Theological Advisor to *Bread for the World*, Berlin, and also as one of the chairs of the ACT Alliance Community of Practice on Religion and Development which exists since 2015. See also: ACT Alliance News item: <http://us9.campaign-archive1.com/?u=1f4fe85b27aeaa1448409d457&id=cb8764aef8&e=750597f646>; and www.youtube.com/watch?v=8GiQcOnE5ok &feature=youtu.be.

is. Historically *Bread for the World* is a result of a renewal movement for Protestant responsibility for the world in the period after the Second World War in Western Europe. Having realized that a large part of the Protestant elite had failed to provide sufficient resistance against the dictatorial regime in the Nazi period, leading Protestant circles influenced by the tradition of the "Confessing Church" in Germany decided to live out more visibly "responsible citizenship" in the decades following the catastrophe of the Second World War. Protestant churches, inspired by the early phase of ecumenical social thinking, realized that they had to articulate visions of a "responsible society" (key concept of the first WCC Assembly in Amsterdam 1948) not only for the reconstruction of Europe, but also for the wider context of facing new challenges of unequal distribution of the sources for life with the global poor.

The interconnection between religion, responsible citizenship and development has accompanied *Bread for the World* since its beginning. The first national collection of funds for the global poor (at that time victims of the Biafra War in West Africa) began in 1959. This was then repeated annually. It was out of the experience of having received massive aid in the work of ecumenical diakonia by churches in Britain, America and France that churches in Germany became determined to enter the work of ecumenical diakonia in return of what they had received in the period of reconstruction in the 1950s.

Since its beginning, *Bread for the World* was not an implementing agency in itself, that is, its approach for support was always geared towards supporting partners and churches in other countries, who would then be the proper implementing agencies for development projects in their own contexts. This means that orientation towards new forms of ecumenical partnership and transparent, fair and entrusting relations of common work between the North and the South was always an important feature.

Bread for the World is an organization, which puts great emphasis on churches to develop their own developmental literacy and competencies, that is, to become more active subjects and project owners for processes of social and economic progress, human rights work and social improvement. Therefore, we welcome this ATISCA based initiative to enter into

a longer process of capacity building, joint collaboration and research dialogue on issues of sustainable development between representatives of institutions of social and theological research as well as churches and development practitioners as it is unfolding for the first time in this book.

Bread for the World is also involved in following political lobbying work and networking in the area of strengthening the churches' participation and the role of civil society actors in implementing the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) agenda. We regard the SDG agenda as a crucial chance to effect global change and also to influence national working agendas of governments, as all governments in the world—leaving behind the old distinction between "developing" and "developed" countries, are now formally requested to reformulate their own agendas for transformation towards a just, peaceful and democratic model of sustainable development.

From Religion as a Taboo Theme to Religion as an Urgently Needed Ally in the Social Transformation towards Sustainable Development

One of the pioneers of the new international discourse on religion and development, Katherine Marshall from the Berkley's Centre for Religion and Development Programme, in a ground-breaking paper titled "Faith and Development: Rethinking Development Debates" analyzed the disconnect which marked the approach of the World Bank and many development agencies until the early 1990s. She noted:

The World Bank, over its 60-year history, had remarkably little professional contact at either global or local levels with the world of faith and the people who work in it. Faith perspectives—including the active roles of religious institutions that own land, run schools, assist poor people, and care for orphans and disabled people—were often invisible to development teams. That oversight often resulted from preconceptions about differing roles, although it sometimes reflected suspicions that faith institutions stood against development goals. Project analysis and documentation, institutional vocabulary, research agendas, dialogue with countries, public speeches, and internal staff training rarely included glimpses of the world of faith. Even today the World Bank

website hardly mentions faith. Some encounters with churches, temples, and mosques did occur, but these interactions were driven by specific individuals and proved patchy and ephemeral.²

Critical observations such as these have had real consequences in terms of policy change since then. Based on an initiative of James D. Wolfensohn, at that time Director of the World Bank, a World Faiths Development Dialogue Programme (WFDD) was initiated which accompanied the formulation of the MDGs and was later continued in cooperation with the Berkley Centre for Religion and Development Programme.³ A new era had started in terms of intentional dialogue between political institutions and FBOs. As Marshall had stated in 2005, for the World Bank many of the western development actors in the early 1990s had tended to perceive development efforts as at best being pursued without religion as this would dilute their political conceptual clarity. But initiatives like the World Faiths Development Dialogue Programme (WFDD) have changed the perceptions considerably. There is a remarkable learning journey between these first small beginnings and the global consultation among donor organizations, UN development agencies and Faith Based Organizations in New York in 2014,⁴ as well as the international conference on religion and sustainable development in the same institution of the World Bank in July 2015.⁵ Both of these brought together FBOs, governments

² Katherine Marshall, "In Faith and Development: Rethinking Development Debates," The World Bank, June, 2005, <http://web.worldbank.org>.

³ <http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/people/katherine-marshall>; See also, www.global.ucsb.edu/orfaleacenter/luce/luce08/documents/Marshall_OsloNGObk-June1.pdf.

⁴ See Report "Religion and Development Post 2015," in www.unfpa.org/publications/religion-and-development-post-2015; <http://jliflc.com/2014/09/new-report-religion-development-post-2015>. A second DUF conference (Donor – UN – FBO consultation) on Religion, Development and International Relations followed in New York 9-10 July 2015.

⁵ Global Conference on Religion and Sustainable Development: Strengthening Partnerships to End Extreme Poverty, World Bank, July 2015, www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2015/07/12/global-conference-religion-sustainable-development; <http://jliflc.com/conferences/religion-sustainable-development-building-partnerships-to-end-extreme-poverty>.

and UN actors to a common platform to end global poverty and managed, finally, to put the religion and development discourse visibly on global UN agendas.⁶

Today it is common conviction that sustainable development needs a global dialogue on guiding values.⁷ Secular societies (including governments and agencies) in the North Atlantic area have tended to underestimate the ongoing global significance of religious traditions for rooting, expressing and correcting guiding values inspiring development processes in various societies. The need to overcome the disconnect between religion and development in the New Millennium has become a major issue in political debates both at international as well as national levels in the North as well as in the global South. This paradigm change can be understood as part of a wider shift away from a narrowly defined economic paradigm of development.⁸

A ground breaking study has been done by several Institutes and Research Networks. Amongst them in particular is the Dutch Knowledge Centre on Religion and Development.⁹ The study paper on religion and development of the network of Christian development organizations in

⁶ See Corrie van der Ven, "What UN Documents and some other Sources Say on Engaging with FBOs," *Internal Paper*, January, 2015.

⁷ See: Klaus Michael Leisinger, "Global Values for Global Development, Working Paper for the Sustainable Development Solutions Network (SDSN)," September 2014, in <http://unsdsn.org/resources/publications/global-values-for-global-development>.

⁸ See also: Gerrie ter Haar and Stephen Ellis, "The Role of Religion in Development: Towards a New Relationship between The European Union and Africa," in *The European Journal of Development Research*, vol. 18, no. 3, September 2006, pp. 351–367. A major shift away from narrowly economic concepts of development has recently found strong advocates in a major new study from EKD churches in Germany: "That they may have life, and have it abundantly" – A contribution to the debate about New Guiding Principles for Sustainable Development." Study by the Advisory Commission of the EKD on Sustainable Development, Hannover 2015.

⁹ See www.religion-and-development.nl and their booklet, *Religion and Development Practitioners Guide*, 2014.

Europe APRODEV (now ACT Alliance Europe),¹⁰ and a major publication of the Lutheran World Federation,¹¹ an international study consultation in Berlin, organized by *Bread for the World* and LWF in December 2014 brought together scholars, practitioners, development specialists and theologians to formulate some common core convictions on the intersection between religion and development, which are worth re-collecting as they represent some new level of common understanding.

Religions serve as bases for value systems and ethical choices. It was commonly affirmed that religious traditions are a basis for ethical values and a strong resource for social and political commitments. They also serve as a guiding factor for interpretative frameworks for the world, which influence decisions and choices for sustainable development for many people in this world. Therefore, a need was emphasized for a reassessment and new appreciation of the role of religious ideas, religious communities and religious practices for and in development. While in the past the role of religion(s) was sidelined and not really taken seriously for several decades due to the dominance of the 'secularization thesis' and the modernization approach as the leading development paradigm within western development discourses after World War II, the intersection of religion and development has become increasingly important today. There is a growing realization that since the majority of the world's populations, and those for whom development initiatives are undertaken construe their world of ideas, values and daily practices informed by

¹⁰ The importance of the interactions between development, religion, and politics is increasingly recognized. Sometimes religion can be part of the problem, sometimes it can be part of the solution, but usually religion plays a role in social developments – especially in areas other than secularized parts of Europe. As a faith-based organization, APRODEV and its members are, in principle, well placed to discern the role of religion and to engage in politics and activities which aim at enhancing the positive role religion can play in improving the livelihood of people,” In "Development and Religion," APRODEV, p. 24.

¹¹ Kenneth Mtata (ed), *Religion: Help or Hindrance to Development?* Leipzig: EVA, 2013.

religion, such an orientation needs to be comprehensively engaged if development is to be sustainable through local ownership.¹²

It has become common conviction that the rights-based approach to human development, which has become the leading paradigm for development organizations, has devoted much attention to the dimensions of *policy* and *practices* of development, but much less to the level of *ideas*, *beliefs* and *values* which in daily life influence greatly the decisions and behaviour of many people around.

Reasons for the New Relevance of Religion in Development Discourses: Trends in Global and Regional Religious Demographics

In its 245-page *Report on the Future of World Religions*¹³ from May 2015, Pew Foundation reveals some interesting demographic trends, which will mark the future of the world's religions in the decades to come. By and large, religious demographic trends as indicated in recent studies (also from the Gordon Conwell based Centre for the Study of World Christianity in Boston¹⁴) have figured less prominently in strategic planning for Christian development organizations than statistical trends indicated in the changing figures for Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) on national levels or globally. However, we argue here that trends in global religious demographics have paramount significance for the future of Christian development cooperation and should be taken into consideration in reflecting about strategic planning and the

¹² "Report on the International Consultation on Religion and Development, "15-18 Dec 2014, Berlin, no. 2.

¹³ www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050.

¹⁴ See: Study Report, "Christianity in its Global Context 1970-2020: Society, Religion, Mission," in: www.gordonconwell.com/netcommunity/CSGCResources/ChristianityinitsGlobalContext.pdf; or the earlier report from Pew Foundation, "Global Christianity: A Report of the Size and Distribution of the Worlds Christian Population," December 2011, in: www.pewforum.org/2011/12/19/global-christianity-exec.

intersection between religion and development for the future decades. Four factors are worth recalling from recent trends in religious demographics.

A first factor is the *resurgence of religions and religious values in most parts of the world*. For decades Western thinkers assumed that religion would decline throughout the world as scientific ideas spread and replace "superstitious beliefs" with modern and rational ways of life. In recent years, however, this assumption has faded across the globe. Religion remains an influential force. According to the Report "Christianity in its Global Context," the number of those living with religious affiliation has grown continuously on the world scale. "In 1970, nearly 82% of the world's population was religious. By 2010 this had grown to around 88%, with a projected increase to almost 90% by 2020. Religious adherence is growing largely due to the continuing resurgence of religions in China. In addition, in 1970, Christianity and Islam represented 48.8% of the global population; by 2020 they will likely represent 57.2%".¹⁵ Religious motivations and affiliations continue to mark the value systems and daily decisions of an increasingly significant part of humanity. The number of people with no religious affiliation, secularists, or atheists, on the other hand, is declining on world level.¹⁶

A second factor is the rapidly *changing composition of world Christianity* with regard to Independent, Pentecostal and Charismatic Churches. This phenomenon was already indicated in earlier Pew Foundation Reports. One factor is the fragmentation of world Christianity, indicated by the number of different Christian denominations which has climbed to astronomical numbers.¹⁷ Another factor is the growth of Pentecostal churches which represented less than 1.5% in 1910, but had climbed to

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ The 2015 Pew Research Report projects that the unaffiliated will decline from 16% of the world's population in 2010 to 13% in 2050, while this group is expected to be slightly increasing only in the USA, in New Zealand and in France.

¹⁷ The World Christian Data Base lists 9491 Christian Denominations on 380 pages, see: www.worldchristiandatabase.org/wcd/esweb.asp?WCI=Results&Query=211.

16.1% of all Christians in the world in 2010.¹⁸ According to a Pew Research Centre Report of 2011, Charismatic and Pentecostal Churches together represented about 26.7% of the World Christian Population in 2011.¹⁹

A third factor is the *changing global balance between Christianity and Islam*. Christianity will no longer be the world's dominant faith by 2050. Almost all of the major religious groups will increase in numbers, but Islam will be the fastest growing religion of the world. Over the course of the next four decades, the number of Muslims will nearly equal the number of Christians around the world for the first time in history – at 31 per cent and 30 per cent of the global population in 2050, respectively. The Muslim share of the world's population would equal the Christian share, at roughly 32% each, around 2070. After that, the number of Muslims would exceed the number of Christians. For the Muslim populations, the 2015 Pew Foundation Report projects a 73% increase from the size of the population in 2010 to 2050, the highest of any of the religious traditions.

A fourth factor is the *changing demographic and religious landscape and declining numerical strength of Christian churches in Europe*.²⁰ Already the 2013 study on "Christianity in its Global Context between 1970 and 2020" had stated that "each of the six major Christian traditions is expected to grow more rapidly than the general population in the global South. Simultaneously, Christianity is declining as a percentage of the population in the global North at a dramatic rate. Birth rates in many European countries in particular are below replacement level, and populations are aging. "The Pew Report 2015 expects for Europe that the Muslim share of the population will increase from 5.9% in 2010 to 10.2% in 2050, considering migration along with other demographic factors that are driving population change, such as fertility rates and age. Europe at

¹⁸ Todd M. Johnson and Kenneth R. Ross (eds), *Atlas of Global Christianity 1910 – 2010*, Edinburgh University Press, 2009, p. 70.

¹⁹ Pew Research Centre, "Global Christianity: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World Christian Population," p. 17.

²⁰ See also interactive map with data projections of all countries: www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11429960.

the same time will remain the only region in the world where the total population is projected to decline. Europe's Christian population is expected to shrink by about 100 million people in the coming decades, dropping from 553 million to 454 million.

Western development agencies operating from within a European context marked by lower degrees of religious vibrancy or even de-Christianization trends are well advised not to take their own context as a measurement for other contexts in the global South, as increasingly experts are realizing that the situation of Western European countries is quite insular with regard to religion and religious affiliation. The religious situation of European countries is not easily comparable with other parts of the world and at the same time also rapidly changing in itself due to migration and social transformation. Increasing religious literacy, competency and proper analytical assessment tools within the staff of Christian FBOs in development cooperation in Western Europe, therefore, is a "must" and strategic priority and cannot be taken for granted. If Protestant churches, particularly being mindful of their own European tradition of social Protestantism, fail to be in more sustained global dialogue with all religious partners on religion and development issues, European countries might fail to provide a common alternative to the growing influence of extremist religious orientations.

Reasons for the New Relevance of Religions in the Development Discourse: Rise of Religious Extremism and the Abuse of Religion

We should be clear and honest about the fact that not all the factors which point to a new relevance of religions for social development are positive. It cannot be denied that the shockwaves which were sent to western countries by the September 9/11 terror attacks on the twin towers in New York proved to unleash a major rethinking about the critical role the abuse of religion and violent religious extremism can play in this world. Similarly, terrorist attacks in Africa have sparked many different political and religious initiatives to bring together leaders of religious communities to prepare for peaceful conflict resolutions. The United Religions

Initiative²¹ as well as the African Union have been involved in several conferences on Initiatives to Prevent Violent Extremism²² to discuss issues related to Religion, Peace and Security,²³ and to bring together more resources for peace and conflict resolution training.²⁴

The Added Value of Protestant Churches in the Current Religion and Development Discourse: Transformation from Bad Religion into Liberating Religion

It is not enough just to state general assumptions about the interconnectivity between religion and development from a sociological or phenomenological point of view. As Christian theologians, we have to be specific and spell out the benefit of Protestant Christianity, which it can and should contribute as a vital public player. Certainly, Protestant churches can play a significant role in contributing to development processes at the various levels of their existence that is, as a motivational factor contributing certain values and attitudes, on the level of their individual social practice in the area of charity and social service, as institutions with some institutional capacities reaching out to the remotest areas in rural settings, and as a common public voice with some conceptual capacities in articulating new visions and suggestions for national or regional capacities. It can be interesting to assess where our churches in the respective countries or here in Zimbabwe have been stronger, and in which of the four levels they are still comparatively weak. But the theological core principle for their engagement in social issues and practices has to be spelled out in order to articulate more specifically in what Protestant forms of Christianity are specific and do have their specific value and contribution over against other forms of religion. Protestant Christianity from its roots and breeding ground in the Reformation history is a form of religion which is highly self-critical and reflective, as Protestantism

²¹ See www.uri.org/files/static_page_files/Religions%20in%20Africa%20Commitment%20to%20Build%20Peace.pdf.

²² www.paxchristi.net/sites/default/files/documents/2011-0458-en-af-RV.pdf.

²³ www.upf.org/peace-and-security/washington-dc-forum/6568-peace-and-security-forum-on-the-role-of-religion-in-peace-building.

²⁴ www.upeace.org/pdf%5CREADER_webpages.pdf.

emerged as a movement of transformation from bad religion to liberative and humanizing religion. This religiously transformative and critical capacity belongs to its essence and remains its distinct feature.

We should not forget that the Reformation emerged out of the need to transform "*bad religion*." Bad religion means dehumanizing, oppressive and distorted religion, as a phenomenon which has existed in past centuries like the late medieval period as well as today. Martin Luther and the Fathers of the Reformation started with the urgent feeling that the distorted and oppressive religious doctrines and practices of the late medieval Papal church were in desperate need of being renewed and purified. Similarly, the whole church, its clergy as well as the faithful, were to be brought back to the original biblical roots of the faith. The Reformers protested against the late medieval religious-political mindset and the reference system which combined four interconnected factors: (1) a widespread religion of fear and a prevalent guilt complex; (2) a culture of popular superstition; (3) a systemic disease of corruption; and (4) a widespread attitude of economic greed, which culminated in the practices of indulgence – the enforced payment of tributes/money to the corrupt clergy to receive forgiveness, and a reduction of periods of punishment to be spent in purgatory (the so-called "*Ablaßbriefe*"). The response of the Reformers to this commercialized religion of fear and guilt was quite radical in the literal sense. The church was called to return to the roots of the Gospel, to God's reconciling work in Christ (*solus Christus*) as the sole foundation for understanding both human beings and the church. In contrast to the teachings of that historic era, each human being was seen as being unconditionally accepted and having received ultimate and undeniable worth and dignity by God's grace alone (*sola gratia*). God's grace provided to each faithful, the Reformers insisted, is free. It cannot be in any way conditioned, commercialized, earned or made dependent on any human efforts, merits of religious rituals. With the message of justification by faith alone, a radically transformed religious self-perception was articulated – a sense of individual freedom and dignity returned – together with a sense of relativizing the dominating powers and the grip of the religious authorities on ordinary people. Martin Luther emphasized in the first of his famous "95 theses" that the whole life of any human being should be open for repentance and renewal and that

real life repentance cannot be replaced by any liturgically ritualized and commercialized religion.²⁵ Have we realized sufficiently that the core theme of "repentance" of the Reformation is very close to the core theme which is discussed in UN levels today about the possibility and the urgent need of human civilization to turn its direction and to "repent"? Luther's emphasis on the true foundation of human beings to really "repent" and to be renewed is very close to the heading of the current SDG-Agenda of the UN which is about "Transforming our world."²⁶ The classical Church Reformers in the 16th century insisted that true social transformation starts with a change of mentality and mindsets, with our openness to be radically transformed by God's love and his pre-imminent merciful justice, which holds us together both in our individual biographies ("*simul justus et peccator*") as well as in society. In other words, spiritual transformation precedes and accompanies social and political transformation. Changes in the outer world, i.e. in the political, social and economic realms, will be in vain, will remain superficial and not lasting as long as they are not accompanied by changes in the inner world which affects each individual and the masses. In other words, the spiritual self-perception and the energies released by spiritual transformation alone demanded a different model of relating to nature, to society and to one's neighbours. This is exactly why the role of religions and the religious sector in society need to be seen as very crucial for social transformation.

Therefore, from Protestant perspectives, there cannot be an uncritical or idealizing concept of religion. Often religion is both part of the problem and part of the solution. While faith communities have substantial assets and potentials for social transformation, religion can also be misused as a cover up for exploitation and even crimes. Nigeria, for example, is known for its vibrant Christianity, but is also the country with the biggest number of private jets, several of which are also owned by quite wealthy church leaders. The Berlin report stated:

²⁵ See English version of the 95 theses for instance in www.luther.de/en/95thesen.html.

²⁶ "The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development," *Amity Foundation*, December 2016, Nanjing, p. 99.

While religion is certainly not the only and readymade 'answer' to eradicating poverty or overcoming global injustices, clear approaches should be forged for authentic engagement by development actors with religion. Here religion is viewed as a legitimate partner of development with a great potential to enhance development outcomes not to be merely defined in terms of a traditional modernization agenda and primary economic growth orientation. Both the concept and perception of religion as well as the concept of development need re-definition, constant checking and critical re-interpretation, as there are "good" and "constructive" concepts and understandings of religion as well as of development and at the same time also distorted, misguided and destructive concepts of both religion and development."²⁷

Development agencies, therefore, both in the South and in the North, need a critical engagement with religious traditions. The conference was taking place at a moment when dominant assumptions of the 'secularization', 'privatization' and 'regionalization' of religion, especially in the West, are slowly giving way. Religion is no longer wholly assumed to be something relating only to the private sphere of life or a personal relationship to some supernatural deity. Religion, both in history and in the present, has immense implications for the value systems within societies as well as for actions to alleviate poverty and to promote justice and human rights. With globalization and rapid movements of people from one region to the other, religion can no longer be seen as something only of relevance for the so-called "developing countries" in the global South. It is now accepted by many development actors across the globe that in light of the 2015 sustainable development discourse, religion will have a critical function for the future of life on this planet both for countries in the global North as well as for those in the global South. The North will need to learn about the value of religion in the process of integration of many migrants and refugees. The South will also learn the value of critical engagement with faith in order to minimize its potential for excesses and distortion of human dignity.²⁸

²⁷ "Report on the International Consultation on Religion and Development," 15-18 Dec 2014, Berlin, no. 5.

²⁸ Ibid, no. 6.

The Added Value of Protestant Churches in the Current Religion and Development Discourse: The Strategic Alliance between Faith and Education as the Basis for Protestant Engagement for Responsible Citizenship

The Reformation was not only about spiritual transformation in the religious concept and self-perception of human beings, but was also about a pedagogical revolution. This is due to the strategic alliance between biblically rooted faith and education.

During the period of Martin Luther only 1% of the population had access to education. The vast majority of people could not understand Latin, the language of the clergy. They were illiterate and literally left in darkness both in mind and in spirit. Luther's passion to bring the Word of God close to the common people (the *sola scriptura* principle) presented a profound push for democratization of religious knowledge in the Late Medieval context. Luther's translation of the New Testament on Wartburg in Eisenach (in 11 weeks only!) spread like wildfire due to new printing technologies – responding to the deep longing of people to understand religious orientation and narratives in their own mother tongue and to be taken seriously as religious (and civil) *subjects*. What a tremendous gift to receive the Bible in one's own mother tongue – at that time experienced for the first time by ordinary German citizens and experienced in similar ways in thousands of settings due to the efforts of later missionaries to provide Bible translations in indigenous languages around the world. What an achievement to read the Bible in one's own mother tongue – today also supported and continued by the global work of Amity Printing Press in Nanjing. Martin Luther in a pamphlet to civil authorities in 1524 ordered to build Christian schools for boys and girls in each small village. The legal obligation for all children to attend school for the very first time was publicly declared and officially ordered in Southern Germany in 1592. The founding of Christian universities and the production of new tools for Christian family education ("Catechisms") underlined the strategic interest of the Reformation to enhance education as a precondition to understand and personally appropriate the Christian faith. Historically, research has shown how Reformation traditions have changed, enforced and broadened the landscapes of

institutions of education both in Europe and even more so—due to world mission—in many non-western contexts where particularly the introduction of mission schools for girls had a tremendous impact on social transformation. There is some significant research on how Christian education has changed social conditions and particularly the fate of girls both in European as well as in Asian or African history. In academic research, therefore, both the impact of the so called "Protestant work ethics" (Max Weber) as well as the higher alphabetization rates and educational standards in Protestant territories are pointers to key factors for more rapid social progress in comparison with other countries in the world.

In his dialectical understanding of human freedom Luther argued that the Christian is free and justified by God and therefore subjected to nobody. At the same time a Christian is free to serve and therefore subjected in the service of love to everybody.²⁹ Since the Christians do not have to worry and struggle for their eternal salvation anymore, their energies are set free to look for the immediate needs of others. Luther never restricted the Reformation or the relevance of the Christian Faith just to the inner realm, but rather he encouraged Christians to take up social responsibilities. He also challenged the political authorities to provide justice and peace under the law of God. It might be less known, but Luther also invented the first new system of common and public social care for the urban poor by installing a sophisticated common collection box (called "Leisniger Kastenordnung").³⁰ In later periods, Lutheran Pietism in Eastern Germany developed new diaconal institutions in which social relief for destitute children and their education always worked hand in hand.³¹ The emergence of voluntary associations of Christians' active in diakonia ("Innere Mission"), and their first national platform (1848) in Wittenberg,³² can be seen as a direct continuation of the Reformation principles,

²⁹ See: <http://lutheranreformation.org/theology/on-the-freedom-of-a-christian>.

³⁰ See: www.kirche-leisnig.de/index.php/leisnig/leisniger-kastenordnung?showall=1; www.luther2017.de/kr/erleben/staedte/leisnig.

³¹ Leading were the Hallesche Anstalten, founded by August Hermann Francke, in 1698.

³² Foundation of the 'Centralverein Innere Mission' as a forerunner of the Protestant Agency for Diaconia and Development today.

which cultivated a strong sense of love, care and compassion as the other side of an understanding of the Christian faith which regards the whole life as a gift from God.³³

It is not by chance that in a majority of countries in sub-Saharan Africa more than half of the national educational and of the health care systems were originally brought up and supported by Christian churches. In several settings, Christian churches and their diakonia systems are still the major health care providers. They reach out to even the remotest local areas. Christian mission history provides a vast panorama of examples of the intersection of evangelism and diakonia, as it belongs to the essence of the Christian faith that it becomes active and concrete in personal and institutionalized forms of charity, social care, relief work and educational efforts. While the Berlin Consultation recommended even more intentional research on this historical and contemporary engagement of religious communities in social services,³⁴ it was clear that for Christian traditions, especially those marked by Reformation, with their strong emphasis on public responsibility, education and transformation of society, the interconnectedness of evangelism and diakonia provides a unique and relevant connecting point for the new religion and development debate both on national as well as on international levels.

Learning Potentials of the Religion and Development Discourse for Governments

The current Religion and Development discourse has quite prominent learning potentials for different governments. Governments need to take seriously religious communities and representatives in their own right as

³³ See for instance: Günter Banzhaf, "Diakonische Impulse der Reformationszeit," in www.diakonie-wuerttemberg.de/fileadmin/Medien/Fotos/Son_Reformation_Diakonische_Impulse.pdf; or Georg Hinrich Hammer, *Geschichte der Diakonie in Deutschland*, Stuttgart: Kohlhammer Verlag, 2013.

³⁴ See: Report of the "Report on the International Consultation on Religion and Development," 15-18 Dec 2014, Berlin, no 3: "The potential of local religious institutions for development still is under-researched while the value-added function of religion in development can and should be properly supported by evidence."

important players in civil society, not just at the occasion of elections as possible voters. Government and state related ministries have a need for more religious literacy, as was stated in the Berlin consultation in 2014:

It was affirmed by many experts that actors in the development field need more religious literacy in order to properly understand how religion contributes to human progress and human rights and that new actors in the religious field have to be more intentionally integrated into development policies and decision making. The conference therefore emphasized both deliberate attempts to increase the "religious literacy" of staff in developmental organizations as well as in politics in issues of religion and development, and also recommended further dialogue on how to translate factors and indicators of religious life in context assessments (national expertise papers) as well as in project criteria so as to contribute to mainstreaming the insights of the religion and development debates in current project processing.³⁵

Churches will not allow governments to escape their own constitutional obligations and mandates to provide adequate conditions of life and sustaining livelihoods for their populations, but they can do a lot on their own in partnership with the state authorities once they are trustworthy, non-corrupt and reliable.

The German government has played an exceptional role in working out a new and updated strategic framework on why and how to relate to religious communities in the context of global efforts towards sustainable development. The guidelines paper "Religious Communities as Partners in Development Cooperation" is available on the internet.³⁶ An Interfaith Companion to the SDG Agenda ("Voices from Religions on Sustainable Development") was published, which highlights remarkable common convictions of some seven major world religions on how to contribute to

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ www.bmz.de/en/publications/type_of_publication/strategies/Strategiepapier363_02_2016.pdf.

the achievement of the 17 goals of the SDG Agenda.³⁷ The International Platform "Partnership on Religion and Development" as constituted in 2016 is a major forum to bring together governments, donor agencies and FBOs on crucial themes of the SDG agenda.³⁸ Currently, it has three major thematic areas, namely, gender justice, reproductive rights and health issues, peace and prevention of religious extremism.³⁹

Learning Potentials of the Religion and Development Discourse for Development Agencies

There are some major learning potentials also for development agencies from the international discourse on religion and development, although this in principle is not new for Christian development agencies. But they have to communicate and articulate their own perspectives in a global, often secular context more vigorously and with a united voice in order to be heard.

Four learning fields can be mentioned:

- a) Development agencies have formed their own international think tank group to do sustained efforts on a multinational level on these issues, i.e. the Community of Practice on Religion and Development (CoPRD) within the ACT Alliance. CoPRD is chaired by *Bread for the World* and meets once or twice a year to develop common projects, particularly in developing a tool for common staff training in religion and development issues.
- b) Development agencies have started various processes to implement religion and development issues and dimensions into their own country analysis and project management procedures. During the meeting of the ACT Alliance working group CoPRD 2015 in Geneva a "RCV Assessment Tool" was introduced by *Bread for the World*, which proposed the introduction of mandatory key questions for the

³⁷ www.partner-religion-development.org/fileadmin/Dateien/Resources/Knowledge_Center/Voices_from_Religions_on_Sustainable_Development_April2017_3rd_edition.pdf.

³⁸ www.partner-religion-development.org.

³⁹ Ibid.

assessment of the potential of FBOs in contexts for development co-operation to become much more prominent and detailed. The new DanChurchAid International Strategy in 2015 stated that "particular attention will be given to understanding the role of Faith-Based Organizations and their potential" and identified as strategic indicator that "Piloting civil society analysis, including the role of Faith-Based Organizations, is a part of all Country Programmes developed." A clear direction was given to take into account the role of religion when developing the context analysis, which is a part of the process of drawing up a Country Programme. For this purpose, the following specific questions relating to the role of religion are suggested to be followed in preparing a context analysis:

1. What is the religious composition of society in NN (given country or place) historically and today?
2. What positive and/or negative relations exist between different religious groups in NN?
3. What values do the most important religious groupings promote in today's NN?
4. How do different religions/religious groups address societal issues?
5. What religious forces from the exterior might impact on NN?
6. To what extent do FBOs have legitimacy and ability to be 'honest brokers' and/or voice of the poor/marginalized in NN?
7. To what extent can FBOs play a mediating role, and to what extent do they tend to defend and nurture the self-interest of their community?
8. How do government or traditional authorities view religion and religious authorities in NN?
9. What does the constitution or legislation in NN say about religion and the role/space of religious institutions?
10. How good are religious groups in formulating and transmitting 'political' advocacy messages effectively?

11. What is the positive potential of faith communities and FBOs in NN that DanChurchAid could build on?

12. Is there anything DanChurchAid should be alert to or avoid when working with FBOs in NN?

How to enhance and qualify a religiously sensitive context analysis even in contexts where there is little or no cooperation with FBOs at present or planned is being regarded as important in order to identify actors, which have the potential to drive change and to understand how change can be triggered and promoted by supporting religious communities.

- c) There is some common research on issues around Pentecostalism and Development in *Bread for the World* and some other ACT Alliance member organizations. Dena Freeman in her research has done some pioneering work on these issues, showing that it is quite "noticeable that Pentecostal churches have not got actively involved with development-focused projects" with western partners. It would be ill advised and inappropriate to think that it follows that Pentecostal churches in general are not engaged in social development and social transformation as a whole. She argued that "by far the greatest impact that Pentecostals have on development in Africa comes not from these FBOs, but from the changes instilled in 'believers' by the religious activities of the churches themselves. In these churches 'religion' is not separated from 'development.' Church leaders take a holistic focus on the 'whole person' and try to bring about change socially and economically as well as spiritually."⁴⁰ Only increased religious literacy and contextual sociological and religious understanding will provide access to an enlarged framework of understanding by which the complex nature of the intersection between religion and development in Pentecostal milieus can be fully appreciated.
- d) Development agencies, finally, also become aware more than ever before how intense issues surrounding freedom of religion and belief (FORB) intersect with religion and development issues. There are

⁴⁰ Dena Freeman, "Pentecostalism and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa," in Emma Tomalin (ed), *The Routledge Handbook on Religions and Global Development*, New York: Routledge, 2015, pp. 114-126, here 116f.

contexts in which FORB is severely limited. In most cases, civil society in general, does not have sufficient space for interactions and communication. Thus, issues of FORB need to play a very important role also in the work of development agencies.

Learning Potentials of the Religion and Development Discourse for Institutions of Education and Research

Since we have many institutions of education and research during this historical joint ATISCA/CIRCLE and ZCC conference, it is very important not to forget the unique added value which research and education have to bring to quality in development cooperation. I hope that this conference will not remain a once off event, but will become the starting point for forming a Southern African network of research on sustainable development. The aim is that researchers from mainline, Pentecostal and Independent churches will meet with representatives from the other group of development practitioners to really look at the root causes of failed development, failing states and failing democracy in Southern African countries. The hope is to come up with best practice models and serious evaluations in terms of what is really befitting the people and integral development on the African continent. What are the hubs of critical studies of development in Southern African regions and countries? The SDG agenda is there, but still also on UN levels we are far from having a unified and consolidated theological concept of development at hand. The question of what *Ubuntu* and other African traditional philosophies and value systems can offer to a transformed and integral concept of sustainable development on the African continent is far from being answered. Here we need to motivate younger African scholars and prepare a continuous network of dialogue and research for them in the Southern African regions.

The Reformation Jubilee 2017 and the Relevance of the Religion and Development Debate

The religion and development debate has assumed a specific relevance in the context of the Reformation Jubilee in 2017. We have seen that churches of the Reformation tradition have a special responsibility to

publicly highlight how Christian churches and faith-based development actors through the tradition of the Reformation have shaped and become engaged in civil societies – especially through the promotion of health, education and social awareness.

The contribution made to the advancement of education and access to education for all should be marked as a historical key contribution of the Protestant tradition to the transformation of society and promotion of human dignity all around the world. *Education was a core concern of the Reformation tradition.*

At the same time, churches of the Reformation tradition made an impact in their societies with regard to strengthening the civil society and its role in development, politics, the responsibility of political power and the protection of the common good. Although there are significant differences between the various Protestant church traditions, their impact in many cases was significant for the development of the society in which they exist. *Public Theology was a core concern of the Reformation tradition.*

Protestant church traditions have made historic contributions in terms of the creation of an awareness of belonging together in One World, of sharing with others in the tasks for promoting new models of sustainable development, just and peaceful societies and towards a just and participatory world society. *Justice and reconciliation were a core concern of the Reformation tradition.*

Protestant church traditions find themselves in several contexts today being confronted by a growing level of violence, intolerance, hate speech and emerging attitudes of religious extremism (examples can be given from Brazil, the Middle East, Southern Africa and others). This can be interpreted as an expression of growing social conflicts within societies permeating and threatening religious communities of all traditions, but at the same time demanding for an even sharpened witness and social presence of churches from the Reformation tradition. They also carry with them the heritage and vocation of the classical peace churches deriving from the left wing of the Reformation. *How to become and remain a church of peace was a core concern for the Reformation tradition.*

The challenges posed by this situation of increasing violence, intolerance and religious extremism present a unique occasion for re-interpretation of the essential insights of the Reformation tradition which take on a new urgency and relevance for the current global crisis.

- a) Reformation traditions, particularly in their stream related to the history of peace churches, have de-legitimized religious justification of brutality and violence and have made clear distinctions between the role of state authorities and the church or religion which are still of relevance today.
- b) Reformation traditions have developed a culture of public and social responsibility of churches which renounce any trend for privatization and inner withdrawal of the Christian faith from the world as well as any form of religious dictatorship and extremism.
- c) Reformation traditions have given emphasis to the competence of local communities to read the Bible in their own languages and to be interpreters of their own realities, thus becoming more independent from powerful agents of either religious or secular media to manipulate and exploit their religious longings.
- d) Reformation traditions have emphasized a strategic coalition between biblically rooted faith and critical reasoning and humanistic values in education. This feature is an extremely valid, unique and relevant contribution to the religion and development discourse today. Were it not in the tradition of the Reformation churches, where could current Islam be inspired to be in dialogue about a potential „Reformation in Islam" which many are hoping for around the world, but which still is far from being promoted by prominent Muslim leaders currently? The emphasis put on education in Reformation traditions challenges all forms of religious identities which tend to enter into moods of religious extremism and intolerance.
- e) Churches of the Reformation tradition therefore provide an essential and critical contribution to the current state of development in World Christianity where the emphasis on education, on public theology, on non-violence and on critical engagement with any form of religious extremism and corruption cannot be taken for granted in

several contexts and is an urgent need in many regions. Churches of the Reformation tradition offer an alternative path of an "enlightened" and critical form of religious identity which can be quite attractive and a politically viable alternative option in a context dominated by all kinds of increasing religious extremism. This Protestant Reformation heritage of education and civilized, peaceful and development friendly religion can be presented as an attractive option and the best possible form of religious identity to be equipped to contribute to the common good and to peace within global humanity in the 21st century.

The Role of Religious Communities for Peaceful Political Transitions

By far the most burning and pressing issues in the area of religion and development are those related to the spread of religious extremism, particularly in those countries which are located beyond the traditional spectrum of partners from western development agencies. Fragile states, the collapse of all aspects of good governance, protracted regional conflicts and the extension of power conflicts of certain external states operating outside their own territories, add to an explosive mix of unpredictable turns of severe conflicts such as militarization of ethnic or religious factions and politicization of forms of religion which have not been subject to any form of transformation and major encounter with modernity and human rights agendas.

It is important to be reminded of key findings of a major global study on Peace and Religion from 2014:⁴¹

- a) Religion is not the main cause of conflicts today. Whilst religion has evidently been a cause of many conflicts throughout history, it is by no means the only reason for conflicts.

⁴¹ Five key questions answered on the link between peace and religion, "A Global Statistical Analysis on the Statistical Link between Peace and Religion. Institute for Economics and Peace," October 2014, <http://economicsandpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/06/Peace-and-Religion-Report.pdf>.

- b) There is no clear statistical relationship between either the presence or the absence of religious belief and conflict.
- c) Multivariate regression analysis reveals a consistent relationship between factors such as corruption, political terror, gender and economic inequality and political instability which determine poor peace scores as measured by the Global Peace Index (GPI). The research clearly indicates that these factors are globally more significant determinants in driving violence and conflict in society than the presence of religious belief.
- d) Religion can be the motivator or catalyst for bringing about peace through ending conflict as well as helping to build strong social cohesion. Furthermore, religion can act as a form of social cohesion and, like membership of other groups, greater involvement in society can strengthen the bonds between citizens strengthening the bonds of peace.

One of the key challenges for evangelism as well as diakonia today is to provide proper religious and political education for responsible citizenship which is able to counter the temptation of religious extremism on all sides, including Muslim and Christian. Christianity and civic education today need to include accurate and non-distorted religious information on the other players involved in national settings. Christian development agencies need to contribute in their capacity to avert the politicization of religion and the religionization of politics. In practice this means to invest and to do long term capacity building for functioning inter-religious councils which are the only means to effectively engage with these issues with all parties involved. There are many examples that FBOs are developing a clearer common understanding on how to become involved in humanitarian response following disasters or major conflicts, an aspect which particularly relates to the issue of religiously sensitive psychosocial support in emergency situations.⁴² If strategic interfaith collaboration

⁴² See the debate on “The Role of FBOs in Humanitarian Response,” which plays a major role in the preparatory process towards the World Humanitarian Summit in May 2016 in Istanbul, <http://actalliance.org/wp-content/uploads/>

and dialogue for citizenship are maintained and strengthened, regionally and locally, efforts can become successful for peaceful co-existence and to de-legitimize, isolate and overcome religious extremism or aggressive political instrumentalization of religion. The Role of Religion in Conflict and Peace Building will remain one of the overarching priority themes in the discourse on religion and development in the future.⁴³

Key Challenges and Priorities in the Context of Massive Insecurity and Political Transition

In summary, we can confirm that in many contexts we have moved beyond the stage of simply stating that 'religion should be put back on the policy map,' in order to counter the dominant narrative in which religion was mainly seen as an obstacle. Instead we have to get organized and spell out the specific contribution and potentials of FBOs in key areas where there is still lack of cooperation and progress related to the SDGs and a common global human rights agenda. The strengthening of instruments of ecumenical unity and cohesion in several national contexts of Africa (like Zimbabwe) is the priority demand of the time as otherwise churches cannot articulate their common voice in a meaningful way.

One of the key priorities in the religion and development nexus is to develop integral and capable leadership on both sides, the churches and politics. How to promote leadership training is crucial. A broad-based anti-corruption campaign might prove to be the most promising as well as most difficult goal for the immediate future, as mistrust at any level of leadership is rampant due to widespread corruption.

Another priority would be to work on a sound biblical African theology of prosperity and development as there is no contextual African theology of prosperity yet. Although there are many different forms of floating prosperity teachings and sermons, there is no common theological

2015/12/WHSSubmission_ACTAlliance_Role-of-FBOs-in-Hum-Response_July2015.pdf.

⁴³ See the important report of the British Academy for Humanities and Social Research from 2015 under the same title, "The Role of Religion in Conflict and Peace-building," in: <http://blog.britac.ac.uk/the-role-of-religion-in-conflict-and-peacebuilding>.

framework yet on which an alternative African theology of development could be built.

- a) The Interfaith Movement for Gender Justice (Side by Side – Faith for Gender Justice) is one of the prominent examples of where engagement of different faith traditions on issues relating to the SDG Agenda might prove urgently needed and promising.⁴⁴
- b) The Ecological Reformation of Christianity has been called for on various occasions,⁴⁵ what is needed is a Pan-African network on African ecological action and awareness building.
- c) We need to develop a common Christian (ecumenical) answer to signals and projects of governments or the international donors' community to establish a new strategy on cooperating with FBOs and religious communities for development. This is the reason why WCC, ACT and LWF have planned an Ecumenical Strategic Forum to work on Guidelines for Religion and Development for all three ecumenical organizations in early October 2017.
- d) African Churches and faith based development actors should emphasize their special profile, they should articulate their added value and potential for contributing to peace, sustainable development and citizenship by translating the language of religion and development into the language of concrete applied ethics and specific ethical standards in order to articulate their specific added "religious," "interreligious" or "Christian" values to be brought into the global political discourse.⁴⁶ We are convinced that African religious communities do have significant competences as they reach out to the most remote areas even in situations of failing states or weak public social service structures.

⁴⁴ www.facebook.com/sidebysidegender.

⁴⁵ <https://water.oikoumene.org/en/whatwedo/news-events/news-from-wcc/conference-calls-for-ecological-reformation-of-christianity>.

⁴⁶ See the new Isabel Apawo Phiri and Dietrich Werner (eds), *Anthology of African Christianity*, Oxford, 2016, which makes an attempt to bring some of these voices together.

- e) We still need to develop more proper instruments for religious literacy training both in the political as well as the civil society sphere as well as for the necessary distinctions between positive and harmful effects of religious traditions. We also need to invest more energy in the work of development agencies to get religion and development competency and dimensions inserted and organically integrated into the concrete procedures of project writing, country assessment and regional strategy or policy papers. Religion in most contexts is both part of the problem as well as to a large extent can be a vital part of the solution.

Chapter 2: The Role of Religion in the Development of the People by the People for the People

James Nathaniel Amanze

Introduction

This chapter has been inspired by the political slogan that describes democracy as "Government of the people, by the people, for the people." In this chapter this slogan has been recast in socio-economic terms to describe effective development as "Development of the people, by the people, for the people." This is because in order for development to be beneficial to the people, it must be undertaken by the people themselves and for the people based on their lived experiences and the challenges that they face every day. The main argument is that development can yield good results if people in a particular locality or country play an active role in identifying their problems and providing solutions to such problems. Quite often development programmes in Africa are planned for the African people from outside while the citizens take a back stage and become passive beneficiaries of something that has been planned and executed for them without their meaningful input. Such models of development tend to fail dismally because people do not have a sense of partnership.

Definition of 'Development' in the Context of this Chapter

The *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* defines the word "development" as the "action or process of developing or being developed"¹. Similarly, the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* has defined "development" as the gradual growth of something, so that it becomes bigger or more advanced.² In the world today, scholars have made a

¹ Jonathan Crowther (ed), *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 318.

² Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, London: Longman, 1978, p. 374.

subtle distinction between "developed" and "less developed" or "underdeveloped" or "developing" countries. Developed countries are rich industrial countries with a lot of business activity.³ Developing countries, on the other hand, comprise poor countries that are trying to increase their industry and improve trade.⁴

The focus of this chapter is the Southern and Central African region, which encompasses Botswana, Malawi, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho, Swaziland as well as South Africa. These countries are described as "less developed" or "underdeveloped" in the sense that their economies are less advanced. In the context of the World Bank, "less developed" countries include all countries in the low or middle income group, that is, with GNP per capita of less than \$US6,000 as calculated in 1988.⁵ According to the *Oxford Paperback Encyclopedia*, the term "underdeveloped" or "less developed" countries refers to all countries whose economies are not fully modernized.⁶ The southern African region therefore seems to fit well into this category since they are still in the process of modernizing themselves. Unfortunately, the processes of modernizing their economies seem slow and tedious and in some instances their economies are going in reverse instead of moving forward. Some of the indicators of their development show that, instead of growing bigger, their economies are shrinking, plunging their populations into poverty.

The argument of the chapter is that many countries in Southern and Central Africa rely heavily on external economic initiatives rather than on local initiatives by the people for the people. Such economic policies are counterproductive because of their failure to involve the local people in the processes of planning and executing economic programmes. In most instances much of the planning and execution of economic programmes is done for the people and not with the people. In order to achieve genuine development, local people must be involved in all the stages of the

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *Oxford Paperback Encyclopedia*, Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 415.

⁶ Ibid.

economic development of a country. They should not be passive spectators but active participants, for the primary goal of economic development should be to uplift and enhance their wellbeing. This is in line with the United Nations Development Programmes' (UNDP) definition of development according to which development is "the expansion of peoples' freedoms and capabilities to lead lives that they value and have reason to value. It is about expanding choices."⁷

Put differently, the notion of development entails the need to move up the ladder of development in order to meet both the basic needs of the people and to have the opportunity to lead richer and more fulfilling lives. It involves people working hard to move up the ladder in terms of economic performance, living standards and sustainable and holistic growth. Sustainable development has been defined as the expansion of substantive freedoms of people today while making reasonable efforts to avoid seriously compromising those of future generations. In this context, environmental conservation is considered as a crucial component of sustainable development. It takes into account the fact that in view of climate changes there is need for people to double their efforts to protect the earth's limited supply of natural resources and preserve nature's valuable services. This will ensure that future generations will benefit from today's developmental efforts. Indicators of high development of human beings include, among other things, higher income, longer life expectancy and more years of education. These, it is held, provide people with more capabilities, freedoms and choices.⁸

The agenda for development is both broad and specific. It deals with issues affecting the lives of people by aiming at ending poverty and hunger in all its forms and dimensions. It also aims at ensuring that all human beings can realize their potentials in dignity and equality in a healthy environment. Development tackles issues pertaining to the planet by protecting the environment from degradation, managing its natural resources, ensuring sustainable production and consumption, responsible management of natural resources on the planet, taking urgent action on

⁷ <http://globalsherpa.org/development-developing-countries-developed> [2.6.2017].

⁸ Ibid.

climate change, in order to ensure that it can support the needs of the present and of generations to come. Besides, its emphasis is on working hard in order to ensure prosperity for all human beings and that social and technological progress takes place in harmony with nature. Bearing in mind the fact that peace is a prerequisite to development, the goals are intended to promote and enhance peaceful and just societies which are free from fear and violence. In addition, the goals are to be achieved through a Global Partnership for Sustainable Development with the view to strengthen global solidarity, focused on the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable, which calls for the participation of all people and all stakeholders.⁹ The Heads of State and Government as well as High Representatives, who met at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from 25-27 September 2015 noted that the Sustainable Development Goals that they were about to launch would be not only far reaching but also people centred.¹⁰

The Current Situation in Southern Africa

The continent of Africa generally and Southern Africa in particular today face a number of challenges that need immediate attention by policy makers on socio-economic development. The most persistent view of Africa from a socio-economic perspective is that it is a continent which is characterized by underdevelopment manifested in the form of high levels of poverty, malnutrition, political instability, violence, dependence, corruption and injustice. The Report of the African Commission (2005) shows that Africa is the poorest region in the world where half of its population lives on less than one dollar a day and life expectancy has fallen to the average age of just 46 years.¹¹ These challenges are exacerbated by poor governance, economic mismanagement, corruption,

⁹ "Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development," United Nations: Department of Economic and Social Affairs, p. 2, <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld>, [2.6.2017].

¹⁰ <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/post2015/transformingourworld>, [2.6.2017].

¹¹ Joseph Ogbannaya, *Religion and Sustainable Development in Africa: The Case of Nigeria*, Milwaukee: Marquette University, p. 6, www.saintleo.edu/media/411881/religion_and_sustain, [13.5.2017].

embezzlement of public funds, unemployment, unequal resource distribution, social tensions as a result of ethnicity, nepotism, and religious differences. These have contributed negatively towards the development of the African continent.¹²

Development of the People, by the People, for the People

The former President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, once noted that the purpose of development should be to lift up the life of human beings. Development should create conditions, both material and spiritual, which can enable human beings to become their best.¹³ Edgar Stoez, in agreement with Nyerere's hypothesis, has argued that the primary concern of development is people because:

If it is not for people it is not worthy of the name. People are at the same time the principal component of development and the object of the exercise. Development is a process by which people are made aware of the opportunities within their reach, increases control over their environment, enhances their dignity and self-worth, offers them freedom and wholeness, improves their quality of life, helps them to realize their God given potentials and raises their liberated spiritual expectations for peace.¹⁴

This is based on the premise that in order for development to be effective, each country and each people must accept the responsibility to make it happen. Development of the people must be by the people themselves for the people in the same way that democracy is the government of the people, by the people, for the people. The argument of this chapter is that people in Southern Africa should take upon themselves the responsibility

¹² See Matamanda Rajab Ibrahim, "Mainstreaming Religion in Socio-Economic Development: Opportunities for Sustainable Development," in *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, vol. vi, no. 6.2 Quarter II, 2015, where this has been discussed in detail.

¹³ Adrian Hastings, *Mission and Ministry*, London: Sheed & Ward, 1971, p. 37.

¹⁴ Edgar Stoez, *Thoughts on Development*, cited by D.L. Fisher, "Suggestions for the Organization of the Christian Service Committee of the Botswana Christian Council," Gaborone, 1974, p. 1.

of effecting positive change that can lead to the total development of its people, socially, economically, politically and spiritually. The African people should take the initiative of development in their own hands and should not wait for people from outside to develop the region for them.

In order to be effective, development must be carried out by the people themselves hence the slogan "development of the people, by the people for the people." In order to achieve self-development, people need to come up with strategies on how to develop themselves. Mike Morrison has argued that an effective people development strategy is key for success in development. He has identified a business led approach to training and developing people as key to success in the socio-economic development of the people. There is a need to inculcate in the minds of people a business-like mentality which will enhance the goal to develop, that may in turn lead to socio-economic growth.¹⁵

In 2015 Mervin Mchenga, a former Global Health Corps fellow in Malawi, argued convincingly that many times development has been imposed on the African people. In most cases development plans are decided and designed in boardrooms in faraway countries by professionals that understand neither the people nor their circumstances. They do not speak their languages, neither are they affected by their problems. Quite often such professionals have not, in their entire lives, set their foot in the countries for which they design development programmes. Yet they are convinced that they are in the best position to identify problems that affect the people and develop solutions to solve them. The problem is that when professionals design development programmes for people without their participation, they are doomed to failure from the start.¹⁶

In this regard, Mchenga has noted that a meaningful development can only take place if the people, who are the primary beneficiaries of such developments, are not ignored. It is of vital importance that they are involved in their own development. According to Mchenga, the people

¹⁵ <http://rapidbi.com/people-development-strategy-a-business-led-approach-to-training-and-d>, [2.6.2017].

¹⁶ "Development by the People, for the People, with the People," www.everydayambassador.org/2015/01/21/development, [21.6.2017].

must be part of the entire development process from identifying the problem, designing development projects and finally implementing them. In all these phases they must be active participants and not passive beneficiaries at the receiving end of development that is decided without them for them.¹⁷

Mchenga has observed that the advantage of involving people in their own development arises from the fact that people are able to identify their problems based on their own life experiences. People are aware of the challenges they face; they raise questions on how to overcome such challenges and they look for ways and means they can use to resolve the issues involved and commit themselves to the suggested solutions. When people know and understand their problems and discover the solutions to their problems it makes development successful and sustainable.¹⁸

Mchenga has pointed out that one of the factors that led to the reduction of the HIV and AIDS pandemic in Malawi was the activities of a rural community intervention team on HIV and AIDS known as MASA Film Project.¹⁹ MASA was an acronym for MAKE ART STOP AIDS. This intervention used film, an art, to address issues of HIV and AIDS that affected the rural communities. The MASA Film Project was one of the best examples of development of the people, by the people, for the people because there was direct participation of people in the project. The film was made up of life stories from the people who had been affected by the HIV and AIDS pandemic. The stories were based on real life experiences of the actors in the film who were also members of the rural communities whom the team was trying to reach.

In the film, the actors talk about the challenges that they face as people living with HIV and AIDS, or as people affected by it through the infection of a loved one or a close friend. As the communities watched the film, the stories resonated with their own experiences in the villages. This helped them to raise questions and spark conversations about the pandemic, which were previously considered taboo. What is important to

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

note is that people discovered the enormity of the challenges that they were facing. They also realized that their actions perpetrated the challenges that they were facing in regard to the HIV and AIDS pandemic. As a result, together with their chiefs, the people began to develop ways and means in which they could resolve these issues and committed themselves to fight against the HIV and AIDS pandemic which had decimated, in some instances entire families.²⁰

It is important to note that one of the factors that led to the success of the MASA Film project in the fight against the HIV and AIDS pandemic in Malawi was that the actors in the film were people from the local communities, some of whom were HIV positive. This encouraged others to take positive action in the fight against the pandemic. For example, some people volunteered to be tested for HIV just because they saw in the film other people whom they knew going for HIV and AIDS testing. The film project by the people for the people shows that when people know their problems and own them, they are ready to provide solutions to such problems. Involving people in their development, therefore, makes development more successful and sustainable rather than imposing such developments on them.²¹

Another example of development of the people by the people for the people can be drawn from Kenya. Joe McCarthy, basing on his experience in Kenya, has argued that the best way of proceeding with development programmes in Africa is that they should be spearheaded by people of the country in question. People who understand the cultural and economic context. People are best placed to know what's best for them and their fellow citizens. When development projects are planned and designed entirely by people from outside for the benefit of the African people, they quite often act as a rising tide that fails to lift all the boats since a few people are likely to benefit at the expense of the majority of the population. According to McCarthy, developments that are largely "ground-up development," that is, by the people and for the people are quite often successful. For example, in Tanzania, Cameroon and Kenya,

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

domestic entrepreneurs have created successful business models that assist in the fight against poverty. One of these is mobile banking and money management. McCarthy has noted that when businesses fare better, more people become employed and more entrepreneurs emerge.²²

In other words, McCarthy has indicated that one of the industries that have actually assisted people to develop themselves in the world is mobile banking and money management. The most important thing about this industry is that it has largely been a ground-up-development- by the people for the people. It has been observed that this model of development has been experimented in Tanzania, Cameroon and Kenya, where domestic entrepreneurs have successfully created business models that have assisted people in the fight against poverty.

In the context of Kenya, it has been noted that prior to mobile financial services, poor Kenyans had many challenges to access their money, convert assets to funds, send money to relatives, and, consequently, were unable to cover everyday expenses because banks were too expensive and hard to get to in short notice. Because of such difficulties people were sometimes unable to make important decisions on matters pertaining to medical as well as educational services. One of the negative aspects of this is that in some instances people were forced to make bad financial choices and decisions.

Interestingly, mobile banking made things for rural communities easier because mobile phones are used everywhere, anywhere and anytime thus making banking services affordable. Mobile financial services cost less than traditional banking, they open the door to more affordable lines of credit and the ability to quickly move or liquidate assets. This speeds up other facets of the economy, by minimizing the time people spend managing and worrying about their wealth and speeding up the everyday flow of money. As a result, businesses fair better because transactions become more regular and more consistent. When businesses do well, more people become employed and more entrepreneurs emerge. This in turn has a positive impact on the economy.²³

²² www.globalcitizen.org/en/content/development, [21.6.2017].

²³ Ibid.

These two examples show that given the opportunity, poor and marginalized people can shape their own lives and transform their world. It has been observed that many of the people who are, quite often, kept in poverty are rich culturally and socially and that they have the resilience and resourcefulness to be the authors of their own development. In other words, people have power to transform their lives and their societies. The role of professional developers, therefore, should be to assist people by equipping them with the necessary skills and the knowledge that can empower them to undertake socio-economic developments. People need to be empowered by removing the structures that keep them in perpetual poverty.²⁴

This requires people's participation in development which must be selfless and inclusive. Charles William Eliot has observed that unselfishness is the first and final commandment for those who would be useful and happy in their participation in development. This is because if people think only about themselves, they cannot develop because they are choking the source of development which is spiritual expansion through thought for others.²⁵

The Role of Religion in Development: Southern African Perspectives

Geoffrey L. Ream of Cornell University has pointed out that religion plays a very important role in development. According to Ream, a number of studies have shown that religion acts as a source of resilience. It acts as a buffer against negative environmental influences such as poverty or discrimination. Ream has also noted that such negative environmental influences lead to negative consequences such as depression and delinquency. Religion acts as a source of resilience in the sense that it adds legitimacy to regulations that speak against bad behaviour and provides an adaptive alternative to such bad behaviour. It has been observed

²⁴ www.progressio.org.uk/content/what-people-powered-de, [21.6.2017].

²⁵ www.brainyquote.com/quotes/keywords/development.html, [2.6.2017].

that the global ethic which is found in practically all major religions prohibits substance use, promiscuity, violence, stealing and the like.²⁶

Religion empowers and enhances the spirituality of people both at individual and community levels. By connecting people with God, religion provides a sense of meaning and purpose.²⁷ The role of spirituality in development, particularly the Protestant ethic, is well established. Studies which have been carried out over many years indicate that there is a correlation between religion and economic growth. One such study was carried out by Max Weber in the 1930s who showed that religion, particularly the Protestant brand of Christianity, is positively related to economic growth and development.²⁸ Another study worth mentioning here was carried out by Robin Grier in 1995 which included countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Tanzania, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The results indicated a strong positive correlation between the growth rate of Protestantism and economic growth.²⁹ This implies that religion is, to a certain extent, a catalyst for economic growth.³⁰

Grier also observed that there is a strong positive correlation between real per-capita income growth and religious ideology.³¹ It is held that the Protestant Ethic promotes the values of hard work and individualism.

²⁶ See James N. Amanze, "The Global Ethic and African Conceptions of Social Justice, Law and Order: An Appraisal," in *Boleswa Journal of Theology, Religion and Philosophy*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2017, pp. 7-16 where this has been discussed in detail.

²⁷ Geoffrey L. Ream, *Religion's Role in the Development of Youth*, Cornell University, www.Human.Cornell.Edu/hd/circ/publication/upload/HE-CIRC-pb-RealmPDF-pdf, [2.10.2017].

²⁸ See Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1930. See also Anthony Giddens, *Capitalism and Modern Social Theory: An Analysis of the Writings of Marx, Durkheim and Max Weber*, Cambridge University Press, 1971, where this phenomenon has been discussed in detail.

²⁹ Robin Grier, "The Effect of Religion on Economic Development: A Cross National Study of 63 Former Colonies," in *Kyklos*, vol. 50, 1997, p. 55.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid, p. 47.

These have allowed countries such as the USA and Canada to build up a large savings base, thereby providing capitalists with the funds needed to increase investments and the capital stock. Protestantism promotes prosperity and in the process prevents the emergence of a social environment conducive to the spread of ideologies that preach violent subversion.³²

In the same vein, Matamanda Rajab Ibrahim, in his paper "*Mainstreaming Religion in Socio-economic Development: Opportunities for Sustainable Development*," has indicated that religion is a critical factor that is correlated to socio-economic development in the sense that it promotes sustainable socio-economic development based on equity, justice and fairness. The problem faced by many nations in Africa today is that religion and development are quite often dichotomized. This results in a distorted analysis of the socio-economic complexities at the local as well as the national level.³³

Joseph Ogbonnaya, in "*Religion and Sustainable Development in Africa: The Case of Nigeria*," has argued that religion can and does promote economic development. This is achieved by inculcating in the mind of the African people the Protestant ethic of hard work and industrialization in order to promote and enhance sustainable development for the African people. According to Ogbonnaya, religion has the capacity to influence progress in human societies that can lead to the establishment of a better world. In view of the fact that religion in Africa has millions and millions of adherents, it therefore makes sense that it can easily promote sustainable development of the African people. This being the case, to ignore the role of religion in development would have a negative impact on the lives of many people in Africa.³⁴ Ogbonnaya has cited a number of

³² Ibid, p. 49.

³³ Matamanda Rajab Ibrahim, "Mainstreaming Religion in Socio-Economic Development: Opportunities for Sustainable Development," *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, vol. vi, no. 6(2) Quarter II, 2015, p. 1.

³⁴ J. Ogbonnaya, "Religion and Sustainable Development in Africa: The Case of Nigeria," *International Journal of African Catholicism: Political Philosophy*, Harare: Graham Publishing, 2012, www.saintleo.edu/media/411881/religion_and_sustain, [13.5.2017].

examples in the world stage during which religion played a significant role in shaping the economic situation of the time. These include the Interreligious Peace Colloquium on Food and Energy (1975) which was held in Bellagio, Northern Italy,³⁵ which declared food and energy as basic human rights. The delegates issued a statement which urged structural changes in world societies in order to alleviate hunger and malnutrition.³⁶ At another Interreligious Peace Colloquium, which was held in Lisbon, Portugal in 1977, leaders of three major world religions namely Judaism, Christianity and Islam reiterated and emphasized the importance of religion in the emerging New International Economic Order in the world since many things such as politics, the economy, culture, ethnicity and other ideologies are significantly affected by faith dimensions.³⁷

In addition, the World Faiths Development Dialogue, set up in 1998, continues to participate in the dialogue with economic agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Such dialogue places emphasis on integral development, that is to say, development that includes the political, social, cultural, economic, technological as well as the religio-spiritual dimensions of human beings. Such development must focus on the human person by promoting a person's overall development, that is, social, cultural, personal and religious. In this regard, a number of institutions now appreciate the role played by religion for the setting up of economic development programmes that can be sustainable.³⁸

³⁵ See Rabbi Norman Lamm, *If there is no Flour*, Bahaalotekhah: The Jewish Centre, <https://archives.yu.edu/gsd/collect/lammserm/index/assoc/HASH66a8.dir/doc.pdf>.

³⁶ Joseph Ogbannaya, pp. 2-3; see Joseph Gremillion, *Food/Energy and the Major Faiths*, Maryknoll, Orbis Books, 1978, p. 7.

³⁷ See Joseph Gemellion and William Ryan (eds), *World Faiths and the New World Order*, Washington: Interreligious Peace Colloquium, 1978, p. 2.

³⁸ J. Ogonnaya, "Religion and Sustainable Development in Africa: The Case of Nigeria," *International Journal of African Catholicism: Political Philosophy*, Harare: Graham Publishing, 2012, pp. 3-4; Molefe Tsele, "Role of the Christian Faith in Development," in Deryke Belshaw et al (eds), *Faith in Development:*

The above observations show that it is now common knowledge that religion plays a very important and significant role in shaping people's views regarding development in their life. It provides the unifying power that enhances the socio-political, economic, technological, cultural and moral dynamics of a culture. This is true of the African people, who, according to Mbiti, do not make an academic distinction between the sacred and the secular, the material and the spiritual, body and soul, natural and supernatural, as one sees in western thought. The African heritage embodies within itself the spiritual and the material in an integrated whole.³⁹ I concur with Ogbonnaya when he says "Africans eat religiously, dance religiously, trade religiously and organize their societies religiously...in a holistic manner without any dichotomy of the material and the spiritual."⁴⁰

The role of religion in development in Southern and Central Africa can be seen almost everywhere from the time of the inception of Christianity to the present day. The churches, through the activities of the missionaries of various denominations, have throughout the centuries been the true bearers of development long before the colonial powers, and African governments after independence. The developmental activities of the church have been most visible in the field of education and in the provision of health care services.

There are a number of ways in which religion contributes to economic development. In the first place, religion provides an environment in society that is just and which allows various players to relate and combine their efforts in trying to realize sustainable development goals. Coupled with this, religion provides social cohesion particularly in instances where people share the same religious beliefs and practices. It serves as

Partnerships between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa, Oxford: Regnum Books International, 2001.

³⁹ John S. Mbiti, *African Religion and Philosophy*, Oxford Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1990, pp. 27-28.

⁴⁰ J. Ogbonnaya, "Religion and Sustainable Development in Africa: The Case of Nigeria," *International Journal of African Catholicism: Political Philosophy*, Harare: Graham Publishing, 2012, p. 5, [www.saintleo.edu/media/411881 /religion_and_sustain](http://www.saintleo.edu/media/411881/reli-gion_and_sustain), [13.5.2017].

a unifying agent by bringing people together physically. This facilitates communication and social intercourse, which ultimately strengthens their social bonds. This enhances cooperation among social members which is a prerequisite to development. In this regard, religious harmony serves as a glue that keeps society together and helps members to strive towards a common goal. In addition to this, religion enhances good moral values. As an agent of social control, it teaches people moral behaviour that can help them to be good members of society and responsible citizens who can work together to attain development goals which conform to the shared religious values. Furthermore, religion provides motivation for people to work hard. Political leaders with good moral influence can impact positively on their people as they set economic goals to be achieved in society. Over and above this, religion inspires people to embark on works of charity such as providing services to the poor and the marginalized or to all the citizens, particularly when state institutions fail. In many African countries, for instance, churches have set up orphanages, old peoples' homes, schools, clinics, hospitals, universities, workshops, hospices and a host of other things.⁴¹

It should also be noted that churches have sometimes provided much needed funds in the form of loans and grants to embark on income generating projects. Churches have for a long time provided funds for scholarships that have enabled a number of people in Africa to get quality education that gave them the opportunity to pursue their dreams and become self-sufficient in the long run and to contribute significantly to the GDP.⁴² Religion promotes a great deal of values that promote economic growth. These include honesty, fear of God, accountability, fair play, justice, solidarity, patriotic spirit, peace, harmonious living, self-respect, human dignity, human rights, and transparency. Policy makers, therefore,

⁴¹ See Matamanda Rajab Ibrahim, "Mainstreaming Religion in Socio-Economic Development: Opportunities for Sustainable Development," *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance*, vol. 6.2., 2015, pp. 4-5.

⁴² Ibid, p. 7.

need to guard against economic policies that dehumanize people and instead provide equal job opportunities for all.⁴³

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the need for people in Southern and Central Africa to be the drivers of their own socio-economic development, rather than letting other people plan and execute development programmes for them. It has been argued that when people accept the responsibility of making development happen in their communities, such development becomes more effective and empowering for everyone, hence the slogan "development of the people, by the people and for the people" becomes a reality. Unless this happens, the African region will ever remain poor and its people will continue in abject poverty.

The chapter concluded by noting that policy plans of development in Africa need to integrate the religious factor in their planning strategies with and for people of Africa. Separating religion from development is a mistake and should be avoided at all costs.

Perhaps another point that could have been of interest is how religion can also contribute to underdevelopment in the African context, where we are now being challenged by new religious movements that do not promote the concept of self-reliance but rather promote the dependency syndrome.

⁴³ Ushe M. Ushe, "The Role of Religious Values in the Management of National Economy: A Paradigm for Economic Reform Policy in Contemporary Nigeria," in *IOSR Journal of Business and Management (IOSR-JBM)*, vol. 6, Issue 3, Nov-Dec. 2012, pp. 59-61 (53-64).

Chapter 3: Religion and Development in Southern Africa

Dakarai Makoto

Introduction

This chapter examines relationships between religion and development in Southern Africa. Drawing upon previous literature on religion and development, this chapter seeks to explore religion's relative contribution to socio-economic development in Southern African countries. It is premised on the notion that religion can be understood as a phenomenon that shapes followers' behaviour. Specifically, different forms of religion provide their members with varying behavioural incentives for participation in religious activities, which in turn have systematic implications for participation in political and socio-economic development activities.

The chapter postulates that religion and faith are crucial to the process of socio-economic development for they shape people's worldview which is central to apprehending reality and embracing of sustainable development. Research has shown that in post-colonial Africa, the involvement of religion in nation building and development has been part of ideological and social movements.¹ According to Mwaura, in the development discourse there can be no sustainable development in the developing world unless the people themselves take the initiative from the perspective of their own beliefs, values and wisdom.² This notion was also

¹ K. Kempkey, *The Political Relevance of Religion in Africa*, New York: School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA), 2011; A. Adogame, "African Christianities and the Politics of Development from Below," *Hervormde Teologische Studies*, 72(4), 2016.

² P. Mwaura, "Civic Driven Change: Spirituality, Religion and Faith," in: A. Fowler and K. Biekart (eds), *Civic Driven Change: Citizen's Imagination in Action*, Hague: Institute of Social Studies, 2008.

echoed by Nelson Mandela who was quoted as saying "social transformation cannot be separated from spiritual transformation."³

However, the avenues by which religion influences development activities in different faiths and religions are haunting in their complexity.⁴ A major challenge facing anyone studying the impact of religious organizations on socio-economic development in Southern Africa is the religion's sheer diversity of denominations. African religions, therefore, constitute an enormous terrain that overlaps with the socio-political and economic spheres in sub-Saharan Africa.

Empirical evidence shows that during the struggle for economic emancipation, religion and religious leaders and movements were used as agents of advocacy, sourcing funding, innovation, and empowerment and to incite social movements. According to Ngada, the origins of the African Indigenous Churches (AIC) were premised on the developmental agenda of Africans.⁵ In South Africa, the founders of the AICs resisted oppression from the missionary church and the apartheid state. Nonetheless, today humanity is still confronted with the same question of whether religion can be an asset or a liability to socio-economic development.

Theoretical Framework

Adam Smith – Theory of Moral Sentiments

The important role of religion in economic development was first postulated by one of the most important political economists, Adam Smith, the Scottish economist, moral philosopher, and author in his book "Theory of Moral Sentiments" published as early as 1759.⁶ However, in his later

³ A. Heuser, "Memory Tales: Representations of Shembe in the Cultural Discourse of African Renaissance," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 35(3), 2005, p. 363.

⁴ N. Ngada, "Role of the African Indigenous Churches (AIC) in Dismantling Apartheid," In *Final Report on the Seminar on the Role of Religious Institutions in the Dismantling of Apartheid*, Geneva: WCC/UNESCO, 1991.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 1759.

works, particularly the book "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations (1776)," Smith also outlined the importance of religious diversity on fostering economic development. According to Adam Smith, religious diversity positively increases religious competition which in turn improves the quality of supply of religious goods. Based on Smith's work, scholars have paid considerable attention to the impact of religion on the socio-economic and political development of nations.

Max Weber – The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism

The debate on the impact of religion on the economy goes back, at least, to Karl Marx and Max Weber.⁷ As early as 1904 and 1905, Max Weber, a renowned German sociologist, economist, and politician wrote a series of essays which culminated in the book "The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism" in which he argued that Protestantism, especially Calvinism, played a critical role in the rise of market driven capitalism.⁸ Weber postulated that there was a positive correlation between Protestantism and the rise of capitalism in the Western world. According to Weber, an individual was religiously compelled to follow a secular vocation, to engage in work developing own enterprises and engaging in trade and the accumulation of wealth for investment.

Karl Marx – Religion the Opium of the People

Contrary to Weber's viewpoint, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels perceived religion as "the soul of soulless conditions," and "the opium of the people" that was used by the ruling classes to give false hope to the working classes. According to the full quote of Karl Marx's famous catchphrase, "religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the opium of the

⁷ C.C. Basten and F. Betz, *Marx vs. Weber: Does Religion Affect Politics and the Economy?* Frankfurt: Social Science Research Network (SSRN), 2011.

⁸ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1930.

people."⁹ A loose interpretation of Marx's statement is that religion is/was a creation of man who has either not yet won through to himself, or has lost himself again but is trying to reduce his/her immediate sufferings through pleasant illusions which further reduce the energy and willingness to confront the oppressive, heartless, and soulless reality of capitalism. According to Marx, religion has been used to promise the poor heavenly rewards by the bourgeoisie in order to lower the working class' expectations of earthly satisfactions.¹⁰ Marxism therefore perceives religion as an obstacle to both human and economic development.

Normative Approach to Religion

The centrality of religion to social, economic, political and cultural activities in Africa is a given and is well documented. Harr and Busutil observed that religious faiths are comprised of a number of dogmas that constitute a normative system. They argue that every religion rests on a normative basis, that, when accepted, serves as a directive of how each individual believer should live his or her life.¹¹ This normative system relates each individual's belief in the transcendent, in the ultimate meaning of existence.¹² The normative approach defines the objectives of religion and offers a conceptual framework and narratives that inspire action and prescribe how things should be. This enactment of a normative conviction has social, economic and political consequences.

Religion in Africa

Africa is a continent with mainly a triple religious heritage, namely African Indigenous Religion, Christianity and Islam. Religion has become

⁹ www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/download/Marx_Critique_of_Hegels_Philosophy_of_Right.pdf.

¹⁰ C.C. Basten and F. Betz, *Marx vs. Weber: Does Religion affect Politics and the Economy?* Frankfurt: Social Science Research Network (SSRN), 2011.

¹¹ Gerrie ter Harr and J.S. Busutil, *The Freedom to do God's Will: Religious Fundamentalism and Social Change*, London: Routledge, 2003.

¹² J. Bercovitch and S. Kadafici–Orrelana, "Religion and Mediation: The Role of Faith Based Actors in International Conflict Resolution," *International Negotiation*, vol. 14, 2009.

increasingly important in the public sphere because of political liberalization and the degree of autonomy. The ability of religious organizations to participate in politics and governance in Africa is strongly related to patterns of inclusion and exclusion based on linguistic, ethnic and regional identity.¹³ The granting of religious liberty in most of the Southern African states has in some instances contributed to increased mutual understanding, while the creation of some inter-religious forums means that some religious groups have been able to enter into a dialogue with each other as well as with the state.

Until the 1960s, social scientists were convinced that the future of religion was bleak. They argued that, as the world becomes increasingly industrialized and urban, and as modes of social life became more bureaucratized and individualistic, religion would fade from view. They thought that fewer people would find religion a meaningful part of their lives, and religion would have no place in public and political life.¹⁴ However, the resilience of religion in developing countries is now visible. In Southern Africa, religion shows no sign of disappearing or diminishing in public importance, as development theorists have generally supposed. For instance, the interlinkages between religion and capitalism in Southern Africa became a topical subject at a time when serious thought was given to what a post-apartheid society would look like.

Research also shows that religious actors are the only non-state conflict managers who have infrastructures extending to the remotest corner of any given state,¹⁵ and that religious actors have the ability to draw expertise and financial resources from their sister organizations locally and internationally. Further, they can use the religious spaces to advance the case for peace especially in places where other platforms have been compromised or are non-existent. Religious organizations are also capable of

¹³ Abubakar Oladeji, Insa Nolte and Nathaniel Danjibo, *Religion, Politics and Governance in Nigeria*, University of Birmingham Working Paper no. 39, 2009.

¹⁴ I. Chipkin and A. Leatt, "Religion and Revival in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *Focus*, vol. 62, 2011.

¹⁵ T.M. Leremore, *Religious Organization in Peacemaking: The Role of NCKK in Management of Electoral Violence in Kenya, 2007-2008*, Nairobi: Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, 2013.

using the religious hat as a tool to mobilize funding and engage in developmental activities.¹⁶

Furthermore, in Sub-Saharan Africa, religion also forms arguably the most important connection with the rest of the world.¹⁷ Africa's religious communities are serving as a unifying factor and as a vehicle for social, economic and political development on the continent,¹⁸ which has suffered acute fragmentation because of colonization, economic globalization and deepening pauperization. Even though religious fundamentalism represents an important contributing factor to such fragmentation in present-day African society, religious communities provide viable and crucial networks that are able to serve as glue for leverage collaboration and to harness resources for the social transformation of the continent.

Role of Religion in Socio-Economic Development

Classic theories of development paid no attention to religion, simply because it seemed irrelevant to the processes they were analyzing other than, perhaps, as an obstacle to modernization.¹⁹ The need to rethink some earlier assumptions concerning the relation between religion and development in the broadest sense has been apparent for some time, most notably since the Iranian revolution of 1979.²⁰ The potential of religious ideas in the relationship between the European Union and Africa has hardly been explored by secular actors, either in regard to development or any other matter. Since development agencies have certainly worked with religious institutions and their leaders in many situations, notably in

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ S. Ellis and Gerrie ter Haar, *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa*, vol. 1, Oxford University Press on Demand, 2004.

¹⁸ M. Tsele, "The Role of the Christian Faith in Development: Partnership between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa," 2001, pp. 203-218.

¹⁹ Gerrie ter Haar and S. Ellis, "The Role of Religion in Development: Towards a New Relationship between the European Union and Africa," *The European Journal of Development Research*, 18(3), 2006.

²⁰ Ibid.

the fields of education and public health, the role of religion in development and transformation of societies has therefore been acknowledged.²¹

Religion has also been seen to play an indispensable role in fostering values such as honesty, integrity, openness, forthrightness and tolerance.²² Such values are crucial for the development of good economic and democratic political systems. African economic and democratic political systems are still grossly underdeveloped. The low level of forthrightness and transparency within political and economic institutions and by leaders is hindering social progress as this fosters corruption and stifles the development of civil societies. The indirect influence of religious culture on economic and political culture through the transference of religious values to these spheres could, therefore, benefit economic and political institutions in Africa.²³

In Judeo-Christian history, economics was a theological concern. Religion regulated attitudes toward accumulation, and provided economic rationality. More broadly, ideas of economic rationality and perpetual growth, the bedrock of classical and neoclassical economics as well as contemporary programmes of economic development, can also be seen to function as a religious system. As a result, there are in any case eminently practical reasons for including religion within a broad concept of development, since religion provides a powerful motivation for many people to act in the ways they do. It equips many of the world's people with the moral guidance and the will to improve their lives.

The potential role of religion as an agent of development in this vast area has not escaped some leading European donor institutions. The Commission for Africa convened by the government of the United Kingdom gave

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ogbu Kalu, "Faith and Politics in Africa: Emergent Political Theology of Engagement in Nigeria," *Religions in Africa: Conflicts, Politics and Social Ethics, The Collected Essays of Ogbu Uke Kalu*, vol. 3, 2010; M. Tsele, "The Role of the Christian Faith in Development: Partnership between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa," 2001, pp. 203-218.

²³ O.M. Agbiji and I. Swart, "Religion and Social Transformation in Africa: A Critical and Appreciative Perspective," *Scriptura*, vol. 114, 2015.

substantial attention to the role of religion in its 2005 report titled "Our Common Interest."²⁴ The UK government's own development arm, the Department for International Development (DFID), realizing the importance of doing further research on this subject, has initiated a project called Faiths in Development, a multi-million pound research consortium. Similarly, the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs has instituted a Knowledge Forum on Religion and Development Policy. Some non-governmental organizations are also known to have undertaken initiatives intended to explore the possible role of religion in the development process.²⁵ The potential role of religion in regard to development has been discussed for some years now even by the main international financial institutions concerned with development, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).²⁶

It is not difficult to find examples of the ways in which people's religious understanding of the world may have a bearing on development. However, visions of development from faith perspectives may differ significantly from economic development. Born-again and Pentecostal forms of Christianity and fundamentalist forms of Islam and Hinduism tend to emphasize the protection and promotion of the virtuous individual and family through behaviours of sobriety, industry, and self-discipline. The traditional Hindu idea of humankind, for example, emphasizes harmony with the living environment. This easily translates into a view that economic growth should be integral to the well-being of the environment as a whole. Similarly, Muslims believe that the ultimate aim of life is to return humanity to its creator in its original state of purity. In African traditional religions, the pursuit of balance and harmony in relations with the spirit world is paramount. Charismatic Christians (of which there are large numbers in Africa and in developing countries more generally)

²⁴ "Our Common Interest: Report of the Commission for Africa," UK, 2005, www.commissionforafrica.info.

²⁵ Gerrie ter Haar and S. Ellis, "The Role of Religion in Development: Towards a New Relationship between the European Union and Africa," *The European Journal of Development Research*, 18(3), 2006.

²⁶ K. Marshall and L. Keough, *Mind, Heart and Soul in the Fight against Poverty*, Washington DC: World Bank, 2004.

believe that personal transformation—inner change—is the key to the transformation of society. All of these ideas help to shape people's views of development. They stem from intellectual traditions associated with particular religions that have been formed by local histories.²⁷

Within the South African context, Swart has shown through socio-empirical research how churches are strategically very important in terms of the formation of social capital to promote social development.²⁸ This is especially so in light of the high levels of trust still shown in this sector by ordinary people and the way in which churches inspire the activities of voluntary outreach, caring and social services, all of which can be mobilized for social capital interventions.²⁹

In Malawi in the mid-1970s, it is claimed that the annual budget of a prominent ecumenical organization, the *Christian Service Committee of the Churches of Malawi*, was 1.5 times the size of the entire government allocation for development.³⁰ Professionals working in secular organizations and governments may also be motivated in part by religion, and see their engagement with development as an outgrowth of their values. In some cases, their beliefs may affect their professional behaviour.

However, there is limited influential research on the broad subject of development itself; there are also a few studies on how religious ideas factor in the discourse of development in Southern Africa. A major obstacle to investigating the role of religion in development is a widespread

²⁷ Gerrie ter Haar and S. Ellis, "The Role of Religion in Development: Towards a New Relationship between the European Union and Africa," *The European Journal of Development Research*, 18(3), 2006.

²⁸ I. Swart, "Churches as a Stock of Social Capital for Promoting Social Development in Western Cape Communities," *Journal of Religion in Africa*, 36(3), 2006.

²⁹ I. Eigelaar-Meets, C. Gomulia and A. Geldenhuys, "An Emerging Strategy of Social Capital Formation: Opportunity and Challenge for the Religious Sector," *Religion and Social Development in Post-apartheid South Africa: Perspectives for Critical Engagement*, 2010, www.westerncape.gov.za/text/2006/11/religion_and_social_development_in_post-apartheid_south_africa_perspectives_for_critical_engagement.pdf.

³⁰ WWFD, 2003.

misunderstanding about what religion actually is.³¹ Religious beliefs inform the ways that economic development projects are received, interpreted, and accepted in specific social and historical contexts. Religious beliefs also inform the ways in which development projects are constructed by development organizations. They inform the way development is planned, conceptualized, motivated and instituted.³²

In spite of the influential role religion has on socio-economic development, Alkire argues that religion is no panacea, but aspects of it can complement as well as motivate development while in some instances religion can also obstruct or undermine development.³³ The avenues by which religion influences development activities in different faiths and regions are haunting in their complexity. Nonetheless, religion holds a key role in formulating a society's cosmic view regulating the way individuals perceive society and their specific role in it. Accordingly, religion is not just a typical function or variable amongst other variables; it constitutes the root from which the different branches of life sprout, grow and flourish. From this point of view, religion is of integral importance: it concerns the deepest root of human existence and integrates human life into a coherent whole.³⁴ It is in this way that religion is said to perform the function of social control.

A major obstacle to investigating the role of religion in development is a widespread misunderstanding about what religion actually is.³⁵ Because of the ideological, cultural and religious differences, there has been no common understanding on what development entails and how it could be

³¹ G. Gerrie ter Haar and S. Ellis, "The Role of Religion in Development: Towards a New *Relationship* between the European Union and Africa," *The European Journal of Development Research*, 18(3), 2006, pp. 351–367.

³² E. Bornstein, *The Spirit of Development, Protestant NGOs, Morality, and Economics in Zimbabwe*, New York: Routledge, 2003.

³³ S. Alkire, "Religion and Development," in *The Elgar Companion to Development Studies*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, 2006.

³⁴ E. Schuurman, "Technology and Religion: Islam, Christianity and Materialism," *Koers*, 76(2), 2011.

³⁵ S. Ellis and G. Gerrie ter Haar, *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa*, vol. 1, Oxford University Press on Demand, 2004.

measured. For many years, the economic aspect of development was emphasized at the expense of cultural and spiritual aspects. In view of establishing a balanced teaching about development, Pope Paul VI wrote: "Development cannot be limited to mere economic growth. In order to be authentic, it must be integral, that is, it has to promote the good of each individual and of the whole person."³⁶

It is important to emphasize that religious networks cannot be considered as a simple substitute for an effective bureaucracy. Regarding such networks primarily as implementers of development plans may be useful at times, but does not itself amount to the fundamental rethinking of development policy that we are advocating. New strategies in development cooperation should take the spiritual dimension of a community into account, for example by supporting faith-based organizations at the grass-roots level, not regarding them as service-deliverers only, but also affirming them in positive aspects of their spiritual vision.

Nonetheless, religion may become a problem when religious leaders or institutions obstruct development or view it as a threat because it promotes western liberal secular culture and human rights, or when religious rhetoric is a veneer for other motives. Classic issues of value conflict surround family planning methods such as contraception and abortion, HIV/AIDS prevention and implicit messages related to sexual morality and women's empowerment; other issues might relate to secularism, sacred sites, dress, or tolerance of outside groups. In development, such values and practices may be addressed under the label of 'culture.'³⁷

It is particularly appropriate to debate such matters with regard to Africa, not only because it is the continent considered in greatest need of development, but also because it contains an enormous diversity of religious and spiritual traditions, whose potential for development has hardly been considered. Despite its negative exploitation by some practitioners and by some African leaders, religion is a positive force that is necessary for moral, socio-political and economic transformation of African societies.

³⁶ Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio*, 1967.

³⁷ M. Walton and V. Rao, *Culture and Public Action: A Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on Development Policy*, Redwood City: Stanford Univ. Press, 2004.

Conclusion

Religion, whether African Traditional, Christian or Islamic, remains a major constituent of the worldview of African people. Religion plays an indispensable role in fostering values such as honesty, integrity, openness, forthrightness and tolerance.³⁸ Such values are crucial for the development of good economic and democratic political systems. The low level of forthrightness and transparency within political and economic institutions and by leaders is hindering social progress as this fosters corruption and stifles the development of civil societies. The indirect influence of religious culture on economic and political culture through the transference of religious values to these spheres could therefore benefit economic and political institutions in Africa.³⁹ Religion in Africa is a key source of social capital. Among African societies, religion is useful in mobilizing resources that would not otherwise have been mobilized to address community problems. It assists in raising consciousness about community problems among people who would not otherwise be aware of those problems. Religious communities such as churches assist in empowering social groups that usually have little influence. Religion, therefore, creates hope and optimism in spite of failed governments and failed economic institutions in Africa. The discourse in religion that only seeks to ignite that powder-keg does not confront the need to be the best undertakers of the worst of the old, and the midwives for the best of the new. Religious practitioners should, therefore, be self-critical and maintain a critical stance towards socio-political and economic institutions.

³⁸ Ogbu Kalu, "Faith and Politics in Africa: Emergent Political Theology of Engagement in Nigeria," *Religions in Africa: Conflicts, Politics and Social Ethics: The Collected Essays of Ogbu Uke Kalu*, vol. 3, 2010; M. Tsele, "The Role of the Christian Faith in Development: Partnership between the World Bank and the Churches of Africa," 2001. (<http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/689531468740134034/Faith-in-development-partnership-between-the-World-Bank-and-the-Churches-of-Africa>).

³⁹ O.M. Agbiji, and I. Swart, "Religion and Social Transformation in Africa: A Critical and Appreciative Perspective," *Scriptura*, vol. 114, 2015.

Chapter 4: The Contributions of Religion in Development: The Case of Chasefu Mission of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) Synod of Zambia

Victor Chilenje

Introduction

This chapter examines the role of religion in development. The word "development" in this work refers to a progression in human endeavour towards betterment of life.¹ Cheyne adds that development "refers to those enabling processes and programmes which are characterized as self-sustaining and participatory, and deal with the underlying causes of human hurt."² Development from a business point of view is an advancement of status from one level to another. True development works to improve the capacity and ability of the community to meet human needs. This is seen when a community is changing to improve the lives of the people on the move towards their vision.³

The above definitions of development are in line with the Christian understanding of development in that it is fulfilling the whole purpose and will of God for his creation. Anything contrary to this is not development. This chapter focuses on the contribution of Christianity to the development of church and society in Central Africa, with specific emphasis on Chasefu Mission in what is present day eastern Zambia. Chasefu is 46km northwest of Lundazi Boma and near Loudon or Embangweni, the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian Livingstonia Synod mission station in Mzimba district in Northern Malawi. It is my argument that the Christian religion through its missionary endeavours brought

¹ R. Cheyne, *Incarnational Agents: A Guide to Developmental Ministry*, Birmingham: New Hope, 1996, p. 27.

² Ibid.

³ Int. Banda, 8.6.2017; Int. Collins, 10.6.2017; Int. Johnson, 10.6.2017.

development in church and society at Chasefu and in the surrounding areas. While it is a fact that missionaries were sometimes agents of colonialism, not all of those who came to Africa were, others were agents of development. This chapter examines the development work of missionaries from the Free Church of Scotland of the Livingstonia Mission and of the Church that resulted from their labours.

The following issues are discussed in this chapter: the brain child of the three Cs of Christianity, Commerce and Civilization; the visible symbols of development at Chasefu; the holistic approach to mission as development by the Scottish missionaries; the contribution of Chasefu to the Zambian liberation or political struggles and those involved. I will conclude the chapter by looking at the present and future visions of Chasefu.

The Three Cs of David Livingstone

It was not until the second half of the 19th century that the evangelization of Central Africa was considered. The man who did it without European colleagues' help but in close cooperation with his African brothers, was the Scottish Congregationalist David Livingstone (1813-1873).⁴ He made his way into deepest Africa, from Botswana up to the huge Congo Basin, in order to both open it to the Gospel and suppress the slave-trade. One revolutionary principle through him became generally accepted by Protestants: "The far interior is to be reached at once," instead of gradually advancing from the coast. "I will open a way to the interior or perish ... I will go no matter who opposes, for it is the will of our Lord ... The end of the geographical feat is but the beginning of the missionary enterprise."⁵ Because of his friendliness towards the Africans, Livingstone became to English-speaking people the ideal missionary. As to his involvement with colonialism, it is evident that he contributed to it by his exploration and even more by his call for trade and settlements, though his

⁴ J. Selfridge, *The Influence of Joseph Booth and John Chilembwe on the History of the Church in Nyasaland, Nkhoma*: Nkhoma Press, 1979.

⁵ O. Ransford, *Livingstonia Lake: The Drama of Nyasa*, Loudon: Murray, 1966.

intention was to give the local chiefs income sources as alternatives to the slave-trade.⁶

Dr David Livingstone, the missionary and explorer, died a lonely death in 1873 at Chitambo in Zambia. His death inspired many Christians in the western world, and some of them responded to Livingstone's challenge to bring Christianity and civilization to the people of Central Africa. Many people in Central Africa suffered from multiple physical needs and some tribes were reduced to a desperate inhuman state by the slave traders. Take "Christianity, Civilization and Commerce" into the interior of Africa, he cried, "and the slave trade will be destroyed at its source." Through this, his mind was set that an opening be made for commerce and Christianity to flow freely into the interior and liberate Africans from the horrors of the slave trade.⁷ It should be noted that Livingstone had made it plain that the saving of souls was by no means the only task facing the missionary. "Sending the Gospel to the heathen," he wrote, "must ... include much more than is implied in the usual picture of a missionary, namely, a man going about with a Bible under his arm."⁸

David Livingstone made a path through many lands and those who followed him were God's light and bringers of love and peace from God. Dr Livingstone stood alone as the great Missionary Traveller, the bringer of civilization or rather the pioneer of civilization to "races lying in darkness."⁹ Mackenzie adds that "Livingstone gave his life trying to save the lost sheep. For 30 years his life was spent in an unwearied effort to evangelize the native races, to explore the undiscovered secrets, to abolish the desolating slave trade in Central Africa."¹⁰

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ R. Mackenzie, *David Livingstone: The Truth behind the Legend*, Chinhoyi: Fig Tree Mallia, P.S.J., 2002, pp. 142- 148, 243.

⁸ David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, London: John Murray, 1861, Reprint: Bremen: Salzwasser Verlag, 2010, p. 26.

⁹ A.J. Wills, *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa*, London: Oxford, 1967, pp. 69-119; R. Mackenzie, *David Livingstone: The Truth behind the Legend*, Chinhoyi: Fig Tree Mallia, P.S.J., 2002.

¹⁰ Ibid.

The climax of Livingstone's lecture tour was his address in the Senate House of the University of Cambridge on 4th December 1857. The excited and enthusiastic audiences he had all over Scotland and England were surpassed by the enthusiasm of the Cambridge students. Livingstone ended his speech abruptly. He suddenly looked up at the audience and shouted:

I beg to direct your attention to Africa. I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country, which is now open; do not let it be shut again! I go back to Africa to make an open path for commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it with you!¹¹

His focus was that Christianity should in the end bring transformational development to the people of Central Africa. The promotion of commerce, Livingstone was convinced, must go hand in hand with Christianity, as it would open up the country and enable the African people to benefit from a more developed form of civilization.¹²

Livingstonia Mission

The Livingstonia Mission was the brain child of Dr James Stewart of Lovedale, South Africa, a Scottish missionary, who suggested the establishment of the Livingstonia Mission in memory of the late Dr David Livingstone's work in Central Africa. The work of the Livingstonia Mission was launched mainly in four spheres: evangelization, education, industrial training and medical service and that was also the focus of the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland when they came to Chasefu and Northeastern Zambia.¹³ The members who formed the Livingstonia Mission were seven: E.D. Young, the leader; Rev Dr Robert

¹¹ Andrew C. Ross, *David Livingstone: Mission and Empire*, London/New York: Hambledon and London, 2002, pp. 121-123.

¹² P. Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945*, Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House, 1990, p. 5.

¹³ C.M. Pauw, *Mission and Church in Malawi: The History of the Nkhoma Synod of the CCAP 1889-1962*, Lusaka: BPM, 1980, p. 24; Victor Chilenje, *The Origin and Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1882-2004*, PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2007, pp. 46-50.

Laws, ordained medical missionary, second in command and lent to the Free Church Mission by the United Presbyterian Church; George Johnson, carpenter; John M. Fadyen, first engineer/blacksmith; Allan Simpson, second engineer; Alexander Riddell, agriculturalist; and William Baker, seaman. The group set forth on 12th May 1875 from Scotland and arrived at Cape Maclear, Malawi, on 17th October, 1875.¹⁴ Due to ill health at Cape Maclear the mission station moved to Bandawe in 1881.¹⁵ Robert Laws again moved the mission station from Bandawe up to the plateau at Khondowe in 1894 and then established the training centre (Overtoun Institute) there.¹⁶ It was at this place that Dr Robert Laws established an institution of higher learning for different courses including the training of teacher evangelists. Those trained were sent out from there all across what is present day northern Malawi and north-eastern Zambia.¹⁷

The Livingstonia Mission was the main source of education for Africans in Nyasaland, and in the early years of the twentieth century had more schools than all the other missions added together. Livingstonia's impact extended into present day Zambia as well and several mission stations were established, such as: Mwenzo (1882), Chitheba (1882), Uyombe (1889), Tamanda (1894) Kamoto (1896), Kazembe (1897), Lubwa

¹⁴ V. Chilenje, *A History of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia 1880s-1998*, BTh, Justo Mwale Theological College, 1998, pp. 11-12; A.J. Wills, *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa*, London: Oxford, 1967, pp. 82-96; Robert Laws, *Reminiscences of Livingstonia*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd 1934, pp. 6-8.

¹⁵ Innocent Ng'onamo, *A History of Malembo CCAP Presbytery in Central Malawi*, MA, Mzuzu University, 2017.

¹⁶ For a Malawian perception of the work of the Institute see: Happy Nyambose, *The Establishment and Contribution of the Overtoun Institute in Northern Malawi and Beyond (1895-2010)*, MA, Mzuzu University, 2015.

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 135-146, 161-178; V. Chilenje, *The Origin and Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1882-2004*, PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2007, pp. 46-50.

(1904), Chitambo (1907), Chasefu (1922) and Lundazi (1962).¹⁸ It should be noted that Chasefu in the Eastern Province of Zambia was the centre of administration for all congregations, mission schools and rural health centres found in the Eastern Province and in part of the Northern (now Muchinga) Province of Zambia.

Following this development, the places established during the missionary time are fully fledged. For example, visible fruits of development are seen in the following areas: Emusa, Mwase, Muyombe, Mphamba, Kam-bombo, Chikwa, Kazembe, Chitheba, Mwase, Lusutha, Chifunda, Chibale, Sitwe, Egichiken, which are now big sub-centres or peri-urban centres. At these places, there are church buildings, manses, local government offices, rural health centres, stores or shops or business centres, secondary or primary schools, teachers' houses, to mention but a few.¹⁹

A Holistic Approach to Mission as Development

The purpose of David Livingstone's three Cs was to bring new life in the African community for by then the people around Chasefu were only expert hunters, they had little clothing, and they were artists in brass and wood. They worshipped God through the ancestral spirits.²⁰ This way of worship added value to their morals and characters. Chasefu was inhabited by Tumbuka and Ngoni people. The Ngoni were herdsman and warriors and the Tumbuka were hunters. The Ngoni always fought and defeated the Tumbuka. The fights only stopped when they welcomed the messengers of peace, the Christian missionaries from Scotland.²¹ The education of Africans, before the Christian missionaries came to Chasefu,

¹⁸ Robert Laws, *Reminiscences of Livingstonia*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd 1934, pp. 186-193; V. Chilenje, *The Origin and Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1882-2004*, PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2007, pp. 49-91.

¹⁹ Int. Chilenje, 24.6.2017.

²⁰ Robert Laws, *Reminiscences of Livingstonia*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd 1934, pp. 112-125.

²¹ R.A. Fraser, *Donald Fraser of Livingstonia*, London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1934, pp. 57-63; J. Johnston, *Laws of Livingstonia*, London: S.W. Partridge, 1908, pp. 80-88.

was informal; where boys and girls depended on grand-parents and elderly people for instructions. The instructions included cultural moral values, survival skills in life, culture, tradition and customs of a particular grouping.²² Farming was at a very small scale. Their main diet was millet and people lived in poverty.

During this time, many Africans died due to untreated diseases such as malaria, diarrhea, measles, sleeping sickness, or chickenpox.²³ In an effort to spread Christianity, the primary goal of the missionaries was winning the consent of the non-Christians to receive baptism. Cheyne states that, "a holistic approach must involve a synergy of relationships in which every aspect of ministry and message is functioning in total harmony with the purpose of God for the life of those who are the objects of the ministry."²⁴ The activity was almost invariably inaugurated by the establishment of permanent missionary centres in non-Christian areas. In this regard, the missionaries first negotiated land from the chiefs. Then they cleared the land, planted crops, constructed buildings, including a school and a church, and in every way established themselves as permanent residents. This symbol of permanence by itself made a strong impression on both the non-Christians and the missionaries as development.²⁵

Using Chasefu as their missionary base, the Free Church of Scotland of the Livingstonia Mission travelled wide stretches of territory, contacting unreached people wherever they could be found.

When the Free Church of Scotland of the Livingstonia Mission came to Chasefu, they focused on both the life here and thereafter while their colonial contemporaries focused only on colonialism. The colonial masters oppressed and dehumanized Africans, and their culture was not

²² Int. Chilenje, 24.6.2017.

²³ Robert Laws, *Reminiscences of Livingstonia*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd 1934, pp. 192-194; Int. Chilenje, 24.6.2017.

²⁴ R. Cheyne, *Incarnational Agents: A Guide to Developmental Ministry*, Birmingham: New Hope, 1996, p. 18.

²⁵ C.A. Volz, *The Medieval Church: From the Dawn of the Middle Ages to the Eve of the Reformation*, Nashville: Abingdon, 1997, p. 30.

respected. Howard states that "culture itself is the customary manner in which groups learn to organize their behaviour and thought in relation to their environment."²⁶ He adds that culture has three principles: behavioural, perceptual, and material. These traits reveal that Africans have their own culture and they need to be treated and be evaluated in that context. In this regard, they were to be treated as human beings for each grouping has its own culture. It should be further noted that culture is not created in a vacuum, nor by isolated individuals for it is a product of humans interacting in groups.²⁷ Africans were treated by others harshly as tools and not partners in development. In view of this the Livingstonia missionaries opposed colonialism and helped Africans reclaim their identity and dignity. The key to their liberation was education which would help Africans understand both world views, that of the Africans and that of the colonial masters. As such the Christian church used a holistic approach to mission work in order for them to make significant contributions to the lives of the African people.

There were four main aspects in the holistic approach to mission as development by the Free Church of Scotland of the Livingstonia at Chasefu. These were:

The Gospel (Proclamation)

The first and most important visible symbol of development was the word of God. This word of God was proclaimed so that many people received Jesus Christ as their personal saviour, and there was spiritual transformation in the people of the area. Through these bad customs such as cutting the hair after bereavement to signify the removal of the spirit of the dead from the community started to minimize.²⁸

The motivating factor for the spread of the gospel at Chasefu was the Great Commission as recorded in the gospel according to Matthew

²⁶ M.C. Howard, *Contemporary Cultural Anthropology*, Boston: Little, Brown and Co, 1986, p. 5.

²⁷ Ibid, pp. 5-6.

²⁸ Robert Laws, *Reminiscences of Livingstonia*, Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd 1934, pp. 192-194; Int. Mwale, 7.6.2017; Int. Chilenje, 24.6.2017.

28:19ff. The Gospel reached Chasefu through missionaries from Scotland, Ireland and from the Livingstonia Presbytery in Malawi. This happened after the death of Winifred Knight, the wife of Rev Dr Ernest A. Boxer on 9th October 1906. The Kazembe Mission Station which was located in the Marambo valley moved to Emusa in 1910. Due to inadequate water at Emusa, the mission station was moved from Emusa to Chasefu in 1913 because the Chasefu stream was a very good water supply. In 1922 a session was constituted for the local congregation and Rev Alexander Macdonald was assigned to the station. He was succeeded in 1930 by Rev Alexander Halliday who shifted the station from Engwe nyameni village to its current location.²⁹ This marked the beginning of the evangelization of Chasefu in Chief Magodi's area and other parts in Lundazi.³⁰

An important factor to be acknowledged in evangelism is that it was a tool for development. In addition, the missionaries saw evangelism as the backbone of the church. Before Chasefu became the centre for evangelism, education, health and agriculture, it was in the hands of a teacher-evangelist, Mr. Jeremiah Nq'umayo (from present day Zambia). He was the one who selected Chasefu (in 1913) because of its good streams of water, rather than Emusa, which had insufficient water at the time.³¹

The proclamation of the Gospel was enhanced by teacher/evangelists, who were trained at Livingstonia Plateau and Loudon in Nyasaland, Malawi. The mission at that time was at Kazembe in the Luangwa Valley – still unevangelized to which the missionary Rev Alexander Halliday and the Church turned with "longing hearts."³² Always missionaries taught that development is development when it takes us to the mind of God. In this regard, the scriptures help us to understand human dignity, peace,

²⁹ Victor Chilenje, *The Origin and Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1882-2004*, PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2007, pp. 81-88.

³⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 77-79.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 83.

³² *Ibid*, p. 84.

justice. If not taken from this perspective, you might bring development that will bring injustice, slavery and division in the church and society.³³

Education

Secondly, the missionaries introduced formal education to the African people which brought transformational development in the society. Many schools were constructed in the different areas of their operations.³⁴ The centre of education for the Livingstonia mission in Eastern and part of Muchinga provinces was at Chasefu mission station. It was the missionaries in Zambia, sent by the Livingstonia Mission of the Free Church of Scotland, who believed that mission schools were the channels through which evangelism, church planting, Christian nurture and development would take place. This was due to the following reasons: First, in almost all cases the school teacher was also the local evangelist; who was intellectually trained both as a teacher and as a preacher. School curriculum contained time for religious studies and some of the early reading books were part of the Bible; and often the school buildings served as the church on Sundays and the same pupils who were on the school rolls made up the hearers and catechumen's classes.³⁵ As such education brought a lot of development to the people of North-Eastern Rhodesia (Zambia). For example, those who were educated at the mission schools were on high demand by government and non-governmental institutions. For some became teachers, evangelists, clerks, agriculture assistants, carpenters, and blacksmiths.³⁶

In the 1920s-1950s, Chasefu produced very important people for Zambia. People like the late Professor Lameck Goma, the late Dr Dalison Nkunika, Nefasi Tembo, Mr. Wesley Nyirenda, Ackson Soko and Macwin

³³ Int. Mwale, 7.6.2017.

³⁴ Int. Mwale, 7.6.2017; Int. Banda, 8.6.2017.

³⁵ Victor Chilenje, *The Origin and Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1882-2004*, PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2007, p. 139.

³⁶ Minutes: Livingstonia Mission Council, 1943, pp. 19-20, 23; T.J. Thompson, *Touching the Heart – Xhosa Missionaries to Malawi, 1876-1888*, Pretoria: University of South Africa, 2000, pp. 14-16.

Nyirongo – educators and politicians; and religious leaders such as the late Rev Simeon K. Ngulube, Malandula Nyirenda, Raban Mulauko Ndhlovu, Bauti Micheal Dokowe the late Rev Sinoah K. Nkhowani, and Rev Newton Phanana Nkunika. The latter was a teacher, pastor, head teacher of Chasefu, and treasurer of the African National Congress who emphasized the concept of equality between Europeans and Africans.³⁷

Among some of those Africans who contributed to the development of Chasefu included: Evangelist Jeremiah Nq'umayo who served as inspector of schools; Mr Harry Brown Malandula Nyirenda, manager of schools, Raban Mulauko Ndhlovu, manager of schools; and Bauti Micheal Dokowe, manager of schools. The education they received helped them contribute greatly to the development of education in parts of north-eastern Rhodesia-Zambia. Many feeder schools were opened, education standards improved and Christianity became widespread. As a result of this good education, a number of people were employed by the government and/or the church, and their living standards were raised.³⁸ It should also be noted that the aim of education by missionaries was to help the converts to learn how to read and write. In addition, that they should learn to live self-respecting, progressive Christian lives. In addition, education helped Africans to be good readers and writers.³⁹

Chasefu had different types of schools within its jurisdiction and these were: bush schools, village schools, centre schools and the station school. The missionaries' goal in educating an African was that he/she must be in a position to read for himself the word of God. In addition, the aim of education was to enable the people to read the scriptures for themselves in an intelligent and satisfactory manner. This would help the Christians read and understand the word of God. Any other instruction imparted, such as writing and counting, was given largely with a view to quicken the intelligence and increase the ability to understand scripture. Therefore, there were two main motives for the missionary's zeal to educate

³⁷ Int. Chilenje, 24.6.2017.

³⁸ Victor Chilenje, *The Origin and Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1882-2004*, PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2007, p. 140.

³⁹ John M. Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era*, Lusaka: Creda, 2013, p. 10.

the people. First was that they might receive and understand the gospel message the people must be able to read the Bible. Furthermore, in order that the Good News might spread to those whom the missionaries themselves were unable to reach, African teachers were trained so they could preach the word of God and teach others to read and write. As such, education was an essential element in evangelization and in nurturing Christian leadership. Indeed, the spread of Christianity depended on education.

The second aim of missionary education was to promote the belief that mission school education would be a civilizing force and would become a powerful weapon against the non-Christian beliefs and sorcery that had affected the traditional culture. By civilization I mean the stage of human social development and organization that is considered most advanced by the church and society. This meant that education could more importantly help the people of Chasefu learn to live self-respecting and progressive Christian lives. Many young people who went to school at Chasefu were sought by employers and many rose to positions of importance in Northern Rhodesia-Zambia.⁴⁰ A third aim in pursuit of education was to show that Africans have real intelligence and stability. Many missionaries, as was the case for Chasefu schools, understood education as an essential way of witnessing to the truth; it is a process by which children may be led into that fullness of life, which is part of the Gospel's meaning for mankind. From this standpoint, missionaries were under an obligation to educate, as they were under an obligation to evangelize. This policy places emphasis on the obligation available in Christ's name as an "education for life."⁴¹ It was the Free Church of Scotland's policy to teach the people, old and young, to read sheets of paper or boards, hung up for all to see, on which were written the vowels and a series of syllables, AEIOU, Ma Me Mi Mo Mu; La Le Li Lo Lu.⁴²

⁴⁰ P. Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945* (2nd ed.), Lusaka: Educational Publishing House, 1990, pp. 12-63; Int. Chilenje, 24.6.2017.

⁴¹ P. Snelson, *Educational Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945* (2nd ed.), Lusaka: Zambia Education Publishing House, 1990, pp. 13-14.

⁴² Ibid, p.59.

It should be noted, therefore, that education is very important to the development of an individual and the church and the society. First, education enlightens the mind. Africans had their own education which had its own realities. However, education brought by the Christian church made people understand issues in a different way; it opened up new possibilities for them to interact with people of other worlds, to share different worldviews, and to learn new ideas. For education is key to everything and education as development is an equalizer in any given context. Missionaries brought education, not only to acquire secular knowledge but knowledge of God as creator and sustainer of the whole world, and people were able to understand God in a new perspective. They were now able to read and write;⁴³ education brought by Christian missionaries worked as a bridge for unity amongst warring tribes. This was due to the fact that many pupils from different tribes went to the same school together, inter-marriages took place and resulted in peace of the community and co-existence and development.⁴⁴ Through education an African understood him/herself better and appreciated the environment. In addition, he/she was given a ticket to be connected to the whole world. From this moment many Africans went to study abroad as teachers or medical doctors. This was the first group of people who led government in the independent Africa in the 1950s onwards.⁴⁵

In this regard, education gives power and status to an individual in the family. Through it, family members are able to plan for the education, health and wealth of their children. Education also encourages children to focus on what is possible in life by creating vision, goals and objectives for their lives. Education also brings independence, sustainability, liberation in the life of an individual. As a result, they are able to make contributions to their families and national development at large. Education provides individuals with the knowledge to question bad structures

⁴³ Int. Mwale, 7.6.2017; P. Snelson, *Education Development in Northern Rhodesia 1883-1945*, Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishing House (2nd ed.), 1990 pp. 59-60.

⁴⁴ Int. Mwale, 7.6.2017.

⁴⁵ A.V. Murray, *The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of the Theory and Practice of Native Education in Africa*, London: Frank Cass, 1967, p. 18.

and systems in both church and society. At the end it gives strength to leadership of the church and society for education is an equalizer amongst different people.⁴⁶

Health

In an effort to bring a holistic approach to mission work, the Livingstonia Mission also introduced medical work at Chasefu Mission Station and the many places under its jurisdiction. This means that the health of the people was considered paramount in development for there were many diseases and deaths. As a result, dispensaries were introduced at Tamanda, Uyombe, Chitheba, Sitwe, Kambombo, Pondo, Fulaza, Kazembe, Chifunda, Chasefu, Chibale, Kamoto, Chasera, Kapichira, Mulekatebwe, Chijemu, Vilimbala, Makhaka, Mugwantha, Mwase, Muyombe and Chikwa. This was done to improve the lives of the indigenous people. This made many people believe that the Christian God was a loving and caring God for He considered the physical lives as well as the spiritual lives of the people.⁴⁷ The biggest hospital of the time was the David Gordon Memorial Hospital built in 1904 at Livingstonia Plateau in, Malawi.⁴⁸

Medical work at Chasefu CCAP Mission station was started by Mrs Alexander Macdonald in 1925. She was followed by Mrs Alexander Halliday in 1933. After Mrs Halliday, Mr Manasseh Ngwira of Chamahiya village came and became the first African clinical officer. His wife was later sent for training as a midwife at David Gordon Memorial Hospital at Livingstonia in Malawi. When she finished her training, she assisted many women during maternity, labour and delivery.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Int. Collins, 10.6.2017; Int. Johnson, 10.6.2017; Int. Mwale, 10.6.2017.

⁴⁷ Int. Chilenje, 24.6.2017.

⁴⁸ Victor Chilenje, *The Origin and Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1882-2004*, PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2007, p. 14; Victor Chilenje, *A History of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia 1880s-1998*, BTh, Justo Mwale Theological College, 1998, p. 39.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 38.

In 1943, the Livingstonia Mission upgraded Chasefu mission dispensary to a rural health centre supervising eleven welfare centres located at Chitheba, Muyombe, Kazembe, Chikwa, Kambombo, Mwase, Chibale, Fulaza, Chifunda, Sitwe and Lundu. These welfare centres prevented many unnecessary deaths, sufferings and diseases. The medical facilities provided by the Livingstonia mission served as a means of evangelization. Most of the people who were admitted in these clinics received the message of God from the clinical officer and the Chaplains.⁵⁰

Chasefu Rural Health Centre and the welfare centres under its supervision brought significant development to the area. Through good medical care provided by the missionaries, the health standards of the people in North-Eastern Rhodesia improved. The diseases, which at first seemed incurable, were now cured. It is indisputable that a healthy person brings productivity in family, church and society. Ill health contributes to poverty, for the sick cannot produce for themselves. Many people die due to lack of proper nutrition. It should be noted that health work was first provided by the missionaries and increased the life span of the African people for many diseases were reduced and cured. This is why health is very critical to the development of an individual, a family, church and society.⁵¹

Subsequently, it should be emphasized that health is development because human resources are part of development. Good health facilities improved the physical development by providing capacity to reduce sickness and death in the community. Health education helped people to change their attitude in sickness and death. Many people could now accept to take conventional medicine. Health education helped many

⁵⁰ Victor Chilenje, *The Origin and Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1882-2004*, PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2007, p. 14 ; Minutes of Livingstonia Mission Council, 1943:16-2017; A.V. Murray, *The School in the Bush: A Critical Study of the Theory and Practice of Native Education in Africa*, London: Frank Cass, 1967, p. 100.

⁵¹ Int. Mwale, 7.6.2017.

mothers have better deliveries at a clinic. This brought productivity and not grieving.⁵²

Agriculture

Through the education provided by the missionaries, many were trained as agricultural assistants at Livingstonia Mission at Khondowe Malawi. As a result many early missionaries and church workers helped in farming. New crops were introduced and better methods of production were taught. Crops like rice, maize, cassava, groundnuts, soya beans, cotton; vegetables such as rape, cabbage, Chinese cabbage, new varieties of tomatoes; and fruits such as mangoes, oranges, bananas, guavas were introduced. It was Rev Dr Donald Fraser who strengthened agriculture industry in the Livingstonia Mission of Loudon/Chasefu District Church Council (DCC). It was Fraser who always considered that African Agriculture Demonstrators were to be trained on caring for livestock, from poultry to cattle, and on growing crops in order to increase the wealth, comfort, and capacity of the people.⁵³

One notable form of agriculture taught at Chasefu was sustainable organic agriculture. They were taught that when the crop is fed well it is able to resist diseases. This meant that people were taught to work with nature for nature is self-purifying. The other lesson taught was soil fertility management and organic farming. The demonstration vegetable garden for farmers in Chasefu area was Rev Alexander Halliday's garden.⁵⁴

Donald Fraser emphasized that it was important to train Africans in both agricultural theory and practice. Donald Fraser put in a plea to Rev Dr Robert Laws for trained agriculture advisers who were sent from Livingstonia. As a result, agriculture courses were introduced to Africans at Chasefu. New methods of agriculture were introduced such as new crops,

⁵² Int. Johnson, 10.6.2017; Int. Collins, 10.6.2017.

⁵³ Victor Chilenje, *The Origin and Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1882-2004*, PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2007, p. 142.

⁵⁴ Int. Sakala, 11.12.2016.

how to use oxen when farming and how to control pests. All the four approaches to mission work brought development to the lives of the people in Central Africa.⁵⁵ Education brought to Chasefu by the Christian church included information about agriculture. Africans already knew agriculture but the missionary education in agriculture added value to the knowledge Africans originally had. Agriculture as development enhanced the following: growing crops on a large scale because Africans had learned new technology of using oxen when ploughing land; preserving the soil using new methods; enhanced food processing and preservation. Food security improved. Agriculture became a source of employment to many people. It became a source of income, especially when cash crops like cotton, groundnuts, soya beans and rice were introduced.⁵⁶ It should be noted that agriculture contributed to transformational development in the society through just and peaceful relationships. Through Christian development people are changed as they discover their identity as children of God and their vocation as faithful and productive stewards of what God has given them for the well-being of human beings. In general, the Christian church believes that the ownership of the development process lies with people themselves for poverty affects the whole family and all relationships in a community. It should be noted that transformational development should always be related to Christian witness.⁵⁷ The Christian religion through the missionaries taught that transformational development journey belongs to God and as Christians we participate in it as agents or development facilitators.⁵⁸

On 2nd June 1952, the colonial government took over all the mission schools and health centres under Chasefu, and major negative consequences affected church and society. Teachers and clinical officers were allowed to marry more than one wife. Beer drinking was permitted. These affected the moral standards for both teachers and pupils.

⁵⁵ Hamish McIntosh, *Robert Laws-Servant of Africa*, Carberry: Handsel, 1993, p. 218.

⁵⁶ Int. Mwale, 7.6.2017; Int. Chilenje, 24.6.2017.

⁵⁷ B.L. Myers, *Walking with the Poor - Principles and Practices of Transformational Development*, Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2003, pp. 1-19.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 14.

Immorality, abuse of authority, teachers' and pupil's indiscipline increased and these contributed to lowering the standards of education. The missionaries' holistic approach to mission came to an end. When Zambia became independent in 1964, she continued to run these facilities as the colonial and federal governments did.

Chasefu and the (Political) Liberation Struggles

Chasefu Mission Station was part of the Loudon and Chasefu District Church Council (DCC) of the Livingstonia Presbytery (1899), Loudon /Chasefu Presbytery (1924), and then Chasefu Presbytery in 1975 under the Livingstonia Synod of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian in Malawi. During the time the Livingstonia Mission was working with Africans across Northern Malawi and nearby North Eastern Rhodesia in evangelism, education, health and agriculture, the British South Africa Company and then Britain itself were strengthening their grip in the same areas.⁵⁹ This brought colonialism, oppression, land grabbing, indirect rule policy, imperialism, the hut tax and passbooks. African tribes were fought and defeated.⁶⁰ The occupation of Northern Rhodesia brought misery and hardship on the African people.⁶¹

Historically the church was involved in the political struggles in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia. The missionaries from the Free Church of Scotland of the Livingstonia Mission were committed to preach the good news of Christ and at the same time help people to fight injustice, bad governance, and corruption, and become liberated from political oppression by the colonial and Federal masters. This was a result of their belief that the people of God must know how peace comes from development. They heard the cries of human suffering. The daily bread they brought to others was a sign of more than human love- it was a sign of God's providence. In their teaching the missionaries emphasized that all people are created in the image of God and are equal regardless of their ethnic

⁵⁹ A.J. Wills, *An Introduction to the History of Central Africa*, London: Oxford University Press, 1967, pp. 193-224.

⁶⁰ Ibid, pp. 244-274.

⁶¹ G.H.N. Haantobolo, *History of Central and Southern Africa*, Ndola: Times Printpak, 2000, pp. 56-74

background.⁶² The Bible makes it clear that people through their work and beliefs should give new meaning to all creation. Missionaries taught that all things were made for all people for their life and progress, and that God made the whole earth and all that it contains for all the people to share.⁶³ The Free Church of Scotland Livingstonia missionaries at Chasefu preached against inequality, oppression, injustice, discrimination and abuse of Africans. They taught that each person is entitled to rights and freedoms regardless of his/her race, tribe, colour, sex, language, religion or political affiliation. The missionaries helped Africans fight against injustice, banish inequality and build a better world. They taught that development would bring peace and good governance in Northern Rhodesia/Zambia.⁶⁴ The local Africans absorbed these ideas and endeavored to put them into practice. As a result, Chasefu became a beacon of peace and development⁶⁵

The teaching by the Chasefu missionaries that all people were created in the image of God and are all equal helped the local Africans understand concepts of life and bodily integrity, necessities of life and decent living, worship of God, private property and private ownership. These human rights are clearly explained in Jesus Christ's great commandment of "Love one another as I have loved you."⁶⁶ One of the primary virtues of every human being is to exercise the virtue of justice which means respect for the rights of others.⁶⁷ Following the pillars or principles of Jesus teaching and ministry, it is clear that it is coming from this great commission as recorded in the book of Mathew 22:34-40). Responding to the

⁶² Genesis 1:26-27; Galatians 3:26-29.

⁶³ A. Hope, S. Timmel and C. Hodzi, *Training for Transformation-A Handbook for Community Workers* (rev. ed. Book I) Gweru: Mambo, 1995, pp. 122-123.

⁶⁴ Victor Chilenje, *The Origin and Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1882-2004*, PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2007, pp. 59-61.

⁶⁵ Mathew 22:34-40; Mark 12:28-31.

⁶⁶ John 15:12-17.

⁶⁷ M.C. Ruwa, *Principles of Good Governance – The Church's Perspective*, Nairobi: Paulines Africa, 2001, pp. 21-36.

teacher of the law, Jesus taught him that he needed to Love the Lord God with all his heart and with all his soul and with all his mind. Jesus emphasized that this Law was the first and greatest commandment. And the second is like it; "Love your neighbor as yourself." The missionaries emphasized that the mission of Jesus Christ was to denounce injustice brought about by all forms of abuse of human rights and to announce a new way of living in justice in the world.

Through their sermons, the missionary pastors and African teacher/evangelists at Chasefu helped Africans to change their attitude of self-esteem. The Africans learned that they needed to value themselves as human beings at all cost to be recognized by others. Freedom does not just come on the silver plate. This is why Hope, Timmel and Hodzi⁶⁸ state that "Freedom doesn't come like a bird on its wing, it doesn't come down like the summer's rain, freedom is a hard-won thing, you've got to work for it, Fight for it, Day and night for it, and every generation, got to do it again." The Christian church went on to teach that it will be necessary to challenge or to confront evil structures, such as discrimination, injustice, oppression and inequality in the church and society and to promote human rights, equality and human dignity because all human beings have been gifted with reason and conscience. If these chains were broken, an African was now to move forward, to be creative, to act freely by offering new insight and contribute leadership without fear of any other person or the oppressors. Truth and justice were to be taught by Africans themselves not really focusing on the white man but the oppressor. African Christians, ministers, elders and teacher evangelists were urged to not think that the national liberation struggles were to be directed towards inverting systems of oppression in such a way that the master of today will be the slave of tomorrow. Instead the focus was to establish a new society where black and white could live together.⁶⁹ Following this encouragement, Africans through the Christian church started to struggle for political power, for economic independence, for the restoration of

⁶⁸ A. Hope, S. Timmel and C. Hodzi, *Training for Transformation-A Handbook for Community Workers*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1995, p. 107.

⁶⁹ P. Mallia (SJ), *On Human Rights*, Nairobi: Paulines Africa, pp. 10-44; Int. Chilenje, 24.6.2017; Int. Mwale, 7.6.2017.

cultural life, to end alienation for relations with all people on the basis of equality and fraternity in the name of Jesus Christ the prince of peace and democracy.⁷⁰ This is echoed by the words of Jesus Christ in Luke 4:18-19 and Isaiah 42:1-4 where it is stated "The spirit of the Lord is on me, because he has anointed me to preach good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to release the oppressed, to proclaim the Year of the Lord's favour." This meant that from the beginning, God desired his creation to live in love, peace and harmony to appreciate the will of God.

In this regard all those who passed through Chasefu carried this message to the church and society. The church emphasized that biblical teachings on human rights are an important aspect of the proclamation of the Gospel in ensuring that justice is triumphant.⁷¹ As the prophet Isaiah puts, "For I the Lord, love justice; and I hate robbery and iniquity. In my faithfulness I will reward them and make an everlasting covenant with them."⁷² This is true because the human being is created in the image of God and possesses rights that are conferred to them by God their creator. From this moment many Africans praised the Christian church for its pastoral responsibility to speak out on evils that affected the people committed either by the state or by the people themselves. By so doing the church is not claiming political power over society but appealing to their hearts and conscience that they need to be liberated from any form of oppression and crime. Thus Chasefu continued to speak against social evils inflicted on innocent people. Preaching against corruption, abuse of authority, and political interference in education in mission schools is not playing politics, but providing checks and balances. It was also believed by the church that transforming liberation of men and women is one of the core values of the Christian faith. Thus, it was always argued that the Christian faith becomes a reality only if it includes a commitment to struggle for a transformation in the church and society. For this was a promise from Jesus Christ that the word of God is all about fulfilling the

⁷⁰ B. Joinet, *Step by Step – Towards Democracy*, Nairobi: Paulines Africa, 2001, pp. 8-16; Isaiah 9:1-7.

⁷¹ Mathew 12:20.

⁷² Isaiah 61:8.

present and brings a bright future that we may have life in all its fullness.⁷³ It is from this conviction that the Free Church of Scotland of the Livingstonia Mission raised concerns on issues of injustice, oppression, discrimination and helped the people understand that they had rights to fight and claim their rights from the colonial masters.

This was indeed transformational development and a revelation to the people so that in many mission stations, workers joined parties of their choice fighting for independence. From the 1940s to 1953 Chasefu was the centre for the African National Congress (ANC), an African party lead by its president Mr. Harry Mwaanga Nkhumbula with Secretary Dr Kenneth David Kaunda who in 1964 became the first republican president of the republic of Zambia. By 1945 politics had spread in many parts of Northern Rhodesia-Zambia. Demands for African participation in government as partners with the whites was reflected by the CCAP ministers, elders, deacons' missionaries and teacher/evangelists. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was rejected.⁷⁴ During his campaigns, Harry Mwaanga Nkhumbula found that the mission stations of the Free Church of Scotland of the Livingstonia Mission including Chasefu, Mwenzo, Lubwa, Chitambo, Chitheba, Kazembe and Muyombe were fertile ground for the African National Congress which strongly opposed the colonial government and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In this regard, political consciousness among Africans was enhanced.⁷⁵

The mission stations were able to participate in political struggles because they were run by the Christian church. While civil servants employed at government schools were banned from political participation and demonstration, church employees were free to participate in politics.

⁷³ John 10:10.

⁷⁴ G.H.N. Haantobolo, *Senior Secondary History of Central and Southern Africa*, Ndola: Times Printpak, 2000: pp. 62-76; V. Chilenje, *A History of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia 1880s-1998*, BA, Justo Mwale Theological College, 1998, p. 36; J.M. Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era*, Lusaka: Creda, 1994, pp. 18-20.

⁷⁵ Ibid, pp. 10-35; M.J. Kelly, *The Origins and Development of Education in Zambia from Pre-Colonial Times to 1996*, A Book of Notes and Reading, Lusaka: Image Publishers (2nd ed.), 2010, pp. 51-61.

It should be noted that even after the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was imposed on the people, Chasefu went on opposing the Federal government. Chief Magodi Palazaye Abel Ndhlovu was in favour of the African National Congress (ANC). As a result, in his chiefdom, especially at Chasefu mission, a very strong ANC committee was formed to spearhead the campaigns of the ANC in North Eastern Rhodesia. The committee was composed of Chairperson Mr. William Nyambose of Kamoto village, Secretary Mr. Simon Kasalo of Gumba village, and Treasurer Mr. Newton Phanana Nkunica, Headmaster of Chasefu mission school, of Mzamu village chief Mwase, Lundazi.⁷⁶

The colonial government saw mission schools as a challenge because mission school workers were not under the control of the government and they could fully participate in the political struggles in Northern Rhodesia. The government felt forced to call for an emergency meeting of all employees of the Livingstonia Mission. On 2nd June 1952, a meeting of government officials (whites), with missionaries, teachers, evangelists and clinical officers from the Free Church of Scotland met at Chasefu Mission. The representatives of the colonial government told the missionaries that, due to their involvement in politics, the colonial government had taken over all Chasefu area mission schools and clinics from the Free Church of Scotland.⁷⁷ More than 58 mission schools, 30 dispensaries, 9 rural health centres and their workers were taken over by the colonial government. Chasefu Mission School headmaster Mr. Newton Phanana Nkunica was transferred to Fort Jameson (Chipata) to teach at a Ngoni school. The manager of schools, Mr. Laban Ndhlovu, became a government employee and was sent to operate from Lundazi Boma.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Victor Chilenje, *A History of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia 1880s-1998*, BTh Justo Mwale Theological College, 1998, p. 37; B.S. Chisala, *The Downfall of President Kaunda*, Lusaka: Steliza, 1994, pp. 24-25.

⁷⁷ Victor Chilenje, *A History of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia 1880s-1998*, BTh, Justo Mwale Theological College, 1998, pp. 37- 46.

⁷⁸ J.M. Mwanakatwe, *End of Kaunda Era*, Lusaka: Creda, 1994, pp. 17-35; Victor Chilenje, *A History of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP)*

The fact that the Livingstonia Mission offered education to the Africans helped them become critical of the activities of the colonial masters. Graduates from Livingstonia Mission schools were able to understand themselves as human beings with full potential to govern the affairs of their land. They did not look at themselves as second class people. It was these learned people that led the political liberation struggles and the formation of Trade Unions to fight for the rights of workers in the mines of Zambia, in government and parastatals. They understood human dignity and started questioning the unjust systems of governance. This was development because the Livingstonia Mission church helped Africans to evaluate, criticize and think strategically, to discern truth, to understand when manipulation was taking place, when rights were being abused, to understand the importance of accountability and transparency in church and society. In addition, through the teachings of those at Livingstonia Mission schools such as Chasefu, the concept of justice was understood clearly and people demanded their rights and justice by using scripture taught by missionaries. The church leaders and African political leaders joined hands in unity to form a formidable force to fight the colonial masters.⁷⁹

In this regard, religion helped to fight colonialism, ignorance and injustice, and the Christian religion promoted quality of life in an individual.⁸⁰ This development brought transformation to church and society. Nonetheless, it cost Chasefu Mission Station. After the 1952 colonial government takeover, most of the mission station infrastructure was destroyed and the station was abandoned.

Present and Future Vision of Chasefu

In 1984, Chasefu Presbytery of the Livingstonia Synod of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian in Malawi was constituted as the CCAP Synod of Zambia. The CCAP Synod of Zambia is focusing on the same four approaches to holistic ministry used by the Scottish missionaries at

in Zambia 1880s-1998, BA, Justo Mwale Theological College, 1998, p. 37; Int. Mwale, 7.6.2017.

⁷⁹ Int. Mwale, 7.6.2017; Int. Chilenje, 24.6.2017.

⁸⁰ Int. Chilenje, 23.6.2017.

Chasefu prior to 1952: Evangelism, Education, Health and Agriculture. Using these approaches, CCAP Synod of Zambia is working to restore Chasefu to its former strength as a center for evangelism, education, health and agricultural work.

On 25th November 2003, CCAP Synod of Zambia repossessed 12 of the former mission schools from the government of the Republic of Zambia.⁸¹ From the date of the handover ceremony, administration of the schools passed to the church in partnership with the government which is committed to give those mission schools grants to support running the schools. These schools are run by the church and are known as grant aided schools for they receive a grant from the government for the smooth running of the schools.

In its endeavour to accomplish the holistic approach to mission, the Synod has resolved to develop an institution of higher learning at Chasefu, comprising schools of Theology, Education, Agriculture and Health.⁸²

School of Theology

The School of Theology began in 2007 as a two-year certificate programme to meet the need for more pastors for CCAP Synod of Zambia. In 2010 Synod approved a 3-year diploma programme, and the construction of a student hostel was completed. Additional infrastructure development including the principal's house and a classroom/administrative building is underway. Three boreholes have been drilled and a solar electrical system installed. Construction of additional facilities will proceed as funds become available. The vision of the School of Theology is to train spirit filled students - men and women - in theology, sustainable agriculture, and development methodologies so that, through holistic

⁸¹ Victor Chilenje, *The Origin and Development of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) in Zambia, 1882-2004*, PhD, University of Stellenbosch, 2007, p. 219.

⁸² Agenda: CCAPSZ, August, 2010:30; Minutes: CCAPSZ pp. 25-29, August, 2010:68-69; Agenda: CCAPSZ, 21-26 August, 2012:28; Int. Kabaghe, 8.6.2017; Int. Banda, 8.6.2017.

ministry, they can bring the Good News of Jesus Christ in word and deed to individuals across Zambia.⁸³

School of Education

The Synod has 30 community schools and 16 mission schools including 4-day secondary schools in Eastern and Muchinga provinces of Zambia. As a result, many pupils now attend senior secondary school education, and pupils are able to make better choices in their lives. The Synod envisions starting a teachers' training college for pupils who desire to become teachers in Early Childhood Development and Primary Schools but cannot afford to travel to acquire tertiary education in the other parts of the country.⁸⁴

School of Agriculture

In 2014 CCAP Synod of Zambia approved the addition of training in agriculture to the curriculum of the School of Theology because the Synod believes that agriculture is a means of development in church and society. This training helps pastors understand new methods, skills and techniques in sustainable agriculture. At the same time, trainee pastors are taught the rule of development that states "do not harm." Harm may be caused when people depend on handouts instead of acquiring knowledge to develop themselves. In 2014, the Synod also embarked on the establishment of a model farm at Chasefu to help both the theological students and local subsistence farmers learn modern skills of farming. At the model farm, organic farming is emphasized as a way of soil preservation and stewardship of God's creation. In addition, students and farmers benefit from increased crop productivity which contributes to food security and income for health services and school fees. The Model Farm will serve as the seed for a future School of Agriculture.

⁸³ Minutes: CCAPSZ, GAC 22-27 September, 2009: 39-42; Agenda: CCAP SZ, 21th-26, 2012:6.

⁸⁴ Minutes: CCAPSZ, 25th-29th August 2010: 35-38; Int. Kabaghe, 8.6.2017.

School of Health

Currently the Synod has two rural health centres in eastern Zambia, and it plans to repossess clinics built by Livingstonia Mission and confiscated by the colonial government in the days before independence. These clinics are still in the hands of the Government of Zambia. The Synod now has two rural health centres in rural eastern Zambia. The church plans to build several other clinics to help reduce disease and death in church and society. The church believes that healthy people can contribute to the development of their families, the church and society. The Synod of Zambia envisions that the School of Health at Chasefu will begin with training nurses.

Way Forward

The following need to be taken seriously as recommendations from this chapter:

Rediscovering the Theology of Vocation – Christianity is under the obligation to preach the gospel; at the same time it is under obligation to help individuals acquire education or any formal training that can help them to live a sustainable life. Through this, the kingdom of God would seem to be equated with the building up of the social order, and salvation as part of the historical process of liberating humanity from political and social injustice. When a person is educated, they are able to understand issues in relation to justice and freedom as a means of liberation and empowerment. This helps an individual to understand the importance of hard work to reduce poverty. In other words, an individual should feel suitable for a particular career or occupation. Normally this is enhanced when knowledge is broken into subject areas that help an individual acquire a skill that is beneficial to his or her life. This is in line with the holistic Livingstonia approach to mission through the proclamation of the Gospel, education, health and agriculture. This means that individuals should value work if they want to see sustainable development.

Rediscovering the Theology of Solidarity instead of Individualism – Solidarity with the poor and the underprivileged in the church and in society is paramount in development. In some cases, the church has compromised its saltiness in the world. The church has lost its former glory

because of its own shortcomings. Some denominations have joined oppressive governments at the expense of God's people who are suffering because of the bad regimes. The church should be aware that it exists to speak against unjust governments and support the needy in the society. The church can do this by practicing good moral values and not failing to speak the truth to the powers that may be. The church should always learn from the prophets in the Old Testament who spoke against evil and the oppressive structures of their time.

Religion of Fear is Bad Religion – This is because this type of religion can cause corruption, abuse and misuse of resources of the church and the society. But the church can bring effective development in any given country by speaking for the voiceless, the poor, the under-privileged, when there is economic injustice and oppression of humanity. This could be achieved by helping governments and individuals not to mismanage public resources and oppress the citizens. It is the responsibility of the church to take stock of the resources of the country and how they are distributed. The Christian religion may continue being salt and light of the whole world. The missional church is there to improve and strengthen peace and security for it understands the mission of Jesus Christ here on earth. This understanding will help the church avoid religious abuse through bad religious teachings. The church has to call a spade a spade as the Old Testament prophets did.

Political leaders should not leave out the religious leaders in development policy-making. Blaming politicians does not benefit anyone. The church must provide leadership to the community.⁸⁵ Recover the ethics of moderation to help to have checks and balances in the church and society. This also implies equitable distribution of resources to God's people.

Inclusive development – Wherever development is taking place all stakeholders need to be included. Women are good partners in any development of church and society. This is true because women understand that dealing with the practical matters of leading a better life is their preserve.

⁸⁵ Int. Ndlovu, 8.6.2017.

Therefore, women need to be involved in any development agenda of the church and society.

It should be also noted that religious leaders are key stakeholders of any meaningful development because they are able to interact with people at all levels of life. Indeed, given the importance of religion in many societies, it would be difficult to develop a culture of peace without including religious leaders in development. This is true because, though, to a certain degree, religions are part of the problem, they are also part of the solution. When religious leaders discover a sense of self-reliance and spiritual dignity rather than just being objects of charity, they contribute to the solution of development problems. Human development should always be transformational development which deals with the whole life of the individual. At the end, the person has an opportunity not only to meet urgent physical needs but also may come to understand, embrace, and live the spiritual dimensions of life offered only in Jesus Christ.

Chapter 5: The *Imago Dei* and Religious Communities as Catholic Development Cogs. The Gweru-Masvingo Diocese 1991-2017

Edmore Dube

Introduction

The chapter appraises the Catholic approach to the implementation of sustainable development goals. The Catholic Church is involved in the elimination of hunger and poverty through responsible consumption and production by communities with clean water and sanitation, peace, justice, and strong political and social institutions. The church puts deliberate emphasis on the *Imago Dei* and the voluntary religious communities built around certain values such as charity (Caritas, Rudo, organizations) or justice, peace and good governance (Catholic Commission for Justice & Peace). Though the core of these groups may be direct employees of the Catholic Church organizations, the vast majority of grassroots membership and committees are made up of volunteers with aptitudes to liberate themselves and others from a particular need. The pull factor in choosing a religious community (guild) is an internal personal need as well as a realization of capacity to relieve others of the same need. The communities' emphasis on the totality of humanity being made in the image of God are calls for, as well as indictments on the universal worth of all people.

The Rural Unity Development Organization (*Rudo*/Love) was formed on the heels of the 1991-92 drought, with Sr. Chiedza (a Holy Cross sister) at its helm, to assist communities across the denominational and political divides to help themselves. The response to the empowerment organization was overwhelming with the interdenominational groupings doing basketry, sculpture and dolling largely for external markets. Caritas *Rudo* organization concentrates on community projects that affect the ordinary person, such as dams, boreholes and community gardening. CCJP

coordinates peace lovers in building strong social institutions that value *unhu/ubuntu* (virtue).

This chapter recommends subsidiarity and conscious involvement as they mitigate social problems and promote development. The argument opens by connecting the theology of the *imago Dei* to the Roman Catholic Social Teachings as disseminated in the church's advocacy workshops, before religious communities can be allowed to implement development on behalf of the church. The chapter then proceeds to demonstrate how three religious groups work within the limits of the theology of the *imago Dei*, implementing development projects, being reflective of the respect for the human being as the *imago Dei*.

Permeation of Catholic Moral Thoughts by the *Imago Dei*

The Catholic development agenda is permeated by *advocacy* to enable all participants to conceptualize their responsibilities from the Catholic point of view. The Roman Catholic Church models its social responsibilities on a set of moral values generally referred to as the Social Teachings of the church, meant to balance the physical, cognitive, emotional and spiritual intelligences in each human being. The Roman Catholic Church in Zimbabwe normally limits itself to ten well-defined social teachings highly infused with the Gospel of Christ.¹ The starting point of these social teachings is the *Imago Dei*; recognizing that humanity in all its diversity (linguistic/racial/tribal) is created in the image of God (Gen 1:26). This is a clear invitation to honour the responsibilities that we have for each other as human beings. The theological explanation is that since everyone is made in the image of God, then everyone is worth of respect, including the down-trodden who are often ignored by society. The image of God in all people is worth of redemption, making restoration of the downtrodden or disadvantaged imperative. Consequently, the first Catholic Social Teaching relates to the principle of universal human dignity as enunciated by the theology of the *Imago Dei*. The principle emphasizes that all people must be afforded sustained decent lives, which

¹ K.F. Makamure, "Leadership and Catholic Social Teachings," A Talk Given to the Masvingo Diocesan Pastoral Council Members on Leadership, Gokomere Mission, 20-22.2.2015.

relates more to empowerment than to simple charity. In other words, while charity is noble, its undergirding value should be ultimate empowerment rather than dependence. Advocacy is the first empowering tool. It conscientizes individuals of their self-worth, as well as the worth of others.

Social and political institutions must protect all people from any form of mistreatment and harsh conditions that dehumanize people.² The bedrock of these social teachings is universal justice that transcends class, race, nationality, age, sex, gender, denomination or political affiliation. This cushions recipients against all kinds of prejudices and affords them feelings of self-worth which rejuvenates those who have lost heart due to life's hardships. To achieve this empowerment, the church emphasizes both abstract teaching and social action. The action is meant to afford the troubled person material goods as well as life skills. Life skills training programmes are informed by the realization that, 'if you want to feed a person teach him how to fish rather than give him fish.' The church takes such actions as part of the Gospel outreach (evangelization) and rejects any association of its faith based organizations with non-governmental organizations (NGOs).³ Though Catholic FBOs and NGOs complement each other on the social and economic empowerment of the lower classes, the Catholics do so as part of their church mission in Zimbabwe, and not as an end in itself.

The centrality of the principle of the *imago Dei* affords the church the opportunity to uphold the principle of the dignity of human life. Human life is perceived from conception, making abortion murder. The church goes beyond the prohibited physical killing (Ex 20:13; Matt 5:21f) to include killing by complicity; failing to act to inculcate justice and peace or relieve hunger and starvation. The church teaches that a human need such as hunger which leads to death through starvation and malnourishment can be avoided through modification of human behaviour that contravenes the concept of the *imago Dei*. Situations in countries such as Somalia and Zimbabwe have demonstrated that famine can be

² *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Nairobi: Paulines, 1994, p. 534.

³ ZCBC, 2007.

accompanied by a host of terminal malnutrition diseases including kwashiorkor. The 2008 cholera epidemic in Zimbabwe is a critical local example, which demonstrates how political polarity can lead to wanton loss of lives. The ruling ZANU-PF party continued to reject being overwhelmed by the cholera outbreak for fear of being outpaced by the vibrant MDC-T party if they accepted incapacity to deal with the health problem, with a cumulative loss of life amounting to 4,288.⁴ ZANU-PF was therefore complicit in the deaths of many Zimbabweans who could not afford decent health care. The church teaches against any kind of polarity, which exacerbates human problems easily avoidable if every one cared.⁵ The 2008 presidential re-run was equally condemned by the church for its wanton disregard of loss of lives. The concrete evidence for violence was gathered by interested religious communities, especially the CCJP.

Theologically, the concept of the *imago Dei* guarantees the principle of freedom of human association disregarded by the 2008 political violence which tended to be partisan. The church teaches that no one can self-actualize in isolation (Genesis 2:18). Moreover, no one should restrict what the Lord has set free (Luke 4:18-19). The Zimbabwe Catholic Bishops' Conference particularly stresses freedom of association as a democratic dispensation that liberates citizens from oppression and enables them to be more productive.⁶

The principle of association feeds directly into the *principle of participation* which is a right and a duty for every citizen. Through the principle of participation the church calls on humanity to work towards the *common good*. The church, therefore, defines development in terms of its articulation of the values of the common good. Individualism and class advancement inevitably fall short of the Roman Catholic definition of

⁴ WHO, 2009.

⁵ Paul VI., "The Development of Peoples," *Encyclical Letter of Paul VI*, Vatican City, 1967; ZCBC, *Let us Work for the Common Good: Let us Help our Country*, Harare: Social Communications, 2011.

⁶ ZCBC, *A Credible Electoral Process for a Responsible and Accountable Leadership*, Harare: Social Communications, 2004; ZCBC, *God Hears the Cry of those who are Oppressed*, Harare: Social Communications, 2007.

development which insists on a universal conception. Separate group or class development inevitably leads to exploitation of the less powerful classes.⁷ Limiting the definition of development to class or group advancement is invalidated by its negation of the *Imago Dei* visible in every person created by God. In that regard, development must appreciate the common good as informed by the *Imago Dei*.

Through the recognition of the *imago Dei* which permeates human creation, the Roman Catholic Church notes the current social strata and the vicious cycle of poverty in the lower stratum. The church, therefore, implores society in its development agenda to uphold the principle of the *Preferential Protection for the Poor and Vulnerable*. The principle is premised on the moral teaching of Jesus which states that, whosoever helps the least of the people, pays tribute to the Lord, for which s/he shall be abundantly rewarded in the world to come (Mat 25:31-46). This principle is closely related to the *principle of human solidarity*. In that regard Paul VI stresses, "The reality of human solidarity, which is a benefit for us, also imposes a duty," for no one is justified to keep excessive surplus while the others "lack necessities."⁸ Hoarding in the face of abject poverty is detrimental to the common good, the key perception emanating from the concept of the *imago Dei*. This is an indictment on the misers and multinationals who exploit the poor workers for their own benefit. Pope Paul VI teaches that the workers must receive fair remuneration.⁹ The Catholic Church has remained firmly in solidarity with the poor and downtrodden.¹⁰ This stance has led to undue persecution of the church by the successive governments.

Through the principle of the *imago Dei*, the Catholic Church emphasizes through its religious communities that there be a deliberate concern for subsidiarity. The *principle of subsidiarity* limits external influence,

⁷ RCBC, *A Plea for Peace: Pastoral Instruction of the Catholic Bishops of Rhodesia*, Gweru, Mambo, 1965.

⁸ Paul VI., "The Development of Peoples," *Encyclical Letter of Paul VI*, Vatican City, 1967.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ ZCBC, *God Hears the Cry of those who are Oppressed*, Harare: Social Communications, 2007.

including government involvement in local communities. The principle stresses that external involvement should be controlled by the understanding: "no bigger than necessary, no smaller than appropriate."¹¹ This means that only a 'little yeast is required to raise the local dough.' Communities should only be empowered to help themselves. The church does not condone dependence syndrome just as it cautions against disregard for local input in any development agenda. Subsidiarity focuses attention on local priorities, a procedure which ensures local cooperation which leads to better successes.

Subsidiarity gives impetus to the principle of *Stewardship of the Environmental Resources*. The church is heavily indebted to Pope Paul VI who states that, "We have inherited from past generations, and we have benefited from the work of our contemporaries ... and we cannot refuse to interest ourselves in those who will come after us."¹² The responsibility for caring for the environment lies with the local communities. These may have initiatives and sponsorship from outside, but they have to carry the burden for the development of their environment themselves. They are an irreplaceable resource in the care of their environmental resources.

Finally, the Roman Catholic Church empowers its religious communities to respect the subsequent principle of *Universal Destination of the Earth's Goods*. God created the earth's temporal goods and put them in the hands of humans that they may be used by all in an equitable manner. The church deplores those bent on profiteering at the expense of their workers and the underprivileged. Profiteering contravenes all the ten principles, especially the underlying principle of the "common good," which, like the rest of the principles, is critically dependent on the *imago Dei*. The *imago Dei* puts all humanity at par by disregarding classes. The right to private property is only respectable if it recognizes the principle of the common good. All people must be enabled to reach their full potential.

¹¹ K. Himes, *Responses to 101 Questions on Catholic Social Teaching*, Manwah: Paulist John XXIII (1963), Pacem in Terris, Vatican City, 2012.

¹² Paul VI., "The Development of Peoples," *Encyclical Letter of Paul VI*, Vatican City: 1967.

Religious Communities

The Roman Catholic Church depends on voluntary religious communities for the furtherance of its *missio Dei*, grafted on the concept of the *imago Dei*. The religious communities (including associations) have to be registered and be guided by the ten social teachings of the church in their development agendas. The "faithful are, in fact, encouraged to form associations among themselves for the sake of living their Faith more deeply and spreading the Faith to others more effectively."¹³ The religious communities comprise celibate brothers and sisters and lay ministries. The lay ministries have association committees from grassroots to national levels. Though there are many religious communities within the Catholic Church reaching out to the vulnerable, this chapter concentrates on the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace (CCJP), Caritas and RUDO which was led by Sr Chiedza, a religious nun of the Holy Cross Community.

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace

The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace was established by the Rhodesia Catholic Bishops' Conference (RCBC) in 1972¹⁴ as the culmination of cumulative church concern. Pope Pius XI (1931) called for self-introspection for the benefit of charity and social justice in his *Quadragesimo Anno*, and Pope John XXIII (1963) extended the call beyond the church to 'all men of good will.' He recognized that justice and peace could not be fully realized unless they were embraced by all people irrespective of their religious affiliations or ideologies. *Pacem in Terris* of John XXIII was the first encyclical to address human rights as such.¹⁵ Justice and peace remained topical throughout the deliberations of the Second Vatican Council. The Council Fathers noted that justice and peace were the major problems besetting the world and stalling holistic

¹³ R.L.C. Burke, "The Blessings of Being A Public Association of the Faithful," in *The Tilma*, Summer, 2007.

¹⁴ D. Auret, *Reaching for Justice: The Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace 1972-1992*, Gweru: Mambo, 1992.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

human advancement. They rejected any definition which limited peace to the absence of war, and justice to acquiescence. Paul VI then wrote to the Latin Church in 1967 that local ordinaries and conferences open a department within the church to cater for development based on the social teachings of the church, fully knowing that without a full conceptualization of the *imago Dei* humanity toils in vain.

At its formation in 1972, the CCJP was led by the illustrious Aloysius Haene SMB, the Bishop of Gweru. The SMB clergy who had a large presence in Latin America were more worried about social justice and liberation theology than the English Jesuits in the Salisbury Diocese. The CCJP, formed on the heels of the Land Tenure Act (1969) and the New Constitution (1970) advocating separate racial development, was an acid test for the Catholic Church to define its stand amid growing racial tensions. The church had to clearly identify with the suffering masses or risk contradicting its social teachings through complicity, which negated the theology of the *imago Dei* supposedly alive in the religious communities. Right from its conception, the CCJP was therefore a theological byproduct meant to combat the threat of racism stemming from the minority regime of Ian Douglas Smith meant to slow indigenous progress.¹⁶ Through the CCJP the church rose to the occasion through the enunciation of a Kairos Theology that went beyond the colour bar, to redeem the oppressed majority.¹⁷

Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace: Gweru-Masvingo Diocese

The SMB vision for the alleviation of human suffering immediately inspired the CCJP to tackle the emergency laws of the colonial state head on. It remained poised against any social, political, economic and spiritual ills of the state that contravened the theology of the *Imago Dei* right

¹⁶ P.H. Gundani, "The Processes Surrounding the Birth of the Justice and Peace Commission in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe)," in *Studia Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, XXXI (2), 2005.

¹⁷ P.H. Gundani, "Prophecy, Politics and Power: Changing Relations between the Catholic Church and the Zimbabwean State (1980-2007)," Paper presented at St Augustine College of South Africa on 13 March 2008.

into the 1990s. As the advocacy arm of the church with grassroots membership, it went ahead of other Church organizations teaching the general populace on inborn and inalienable rights, summarized in the Catholic Social Teachings heavily infused by the theology of the *imago Dei*. By availing the ten social teachings of the church to the people of various religious persuasions, they prepared them to respect one another and to work corporately. This strengthened the local community to be able to streamline their options for development, and to own them. Communities were made to understand that subsidiarity infused with the spirit of the *imago Dei* was the mainstay of any development, for it evoked the spirit of both authorship and ownership of the project, both of which are key determinants of sustainability.¹⁸ The major stress of the commission also lies with the principle of participation. In the drought years of 1991-95 the commission stressed that the people were supposed to work with their own hands and not lull, banking on donor aid, fully knowing that aversion to work was the root cause of poverty and hunger. People were their own saviours from the marauding drought.

Both the lay and the religious with aptitudes for justice and peace continued to swell the CCJP ranks throughout the 27 years under study despite security threats and risks. The security of the diocesan body was compromised by the publication of *Breaking the Silence: Building the True Peace* in 1997 by the CCJP National Office in cooperation with the Legal Resources Foundation. The document was critical of the anti-*Imago Dei* activities of the state, partly inside the current delimitation of the study (Midlands). This was in connection with the heavy-handed state tactics employed in dealing with unrest in Matabeleland and Midlands Provinces which was estimated to have resulted in the loss of 20,000 innocent civilian lives.¹⁹ Despite the threat of sanction, the CCJP in the Gweru-Masvingo Diocese continued to hold up the church banner

¹⁸ K.F. Makamure, "Leadership and Catholic Social Teachings," A Talk Given to the Masvingo Diocesan Pastoral Council Members on Leadership, Gokomere Mission, 20-22.2.2015.

¹⁹ CCJP and LRF, *Breaking the Silence: Building the True Peace*, Gweru: Mambo, 1997.

with the social teachings of the church, and to lobby for strong social and political institutions respecting all people as the *imago Dei*.

For the CCJP, the *imago Dei* implied peace and tranquility in a democratic dispensation.²⁰ As such a situation can only be born out of a democratic electoral process, the CCJP continued to give civic education in the run up to Zimbabwe plebiscites conscientizing people to choose candidates who respect human life and dignity. Although such a scenario has generally been untenable due to ZANU-PF intransigence, the CCJP has continued to mount workshops and to hand out T-shirts disseminating the messages of racial harmony and tribal tolerance in the true spirit of the *imago Dei*. They have gone on to observe every general or by-election, producing evaluation reports for the church leadership. Such reports have been the spring boards for ongoing human formations as communicated by the ZCBC pastoral letters.

In the period from the 2008 presidential run-off to date, the CCJP has intensified its peace building campaign in an effort to help communities traumatized and polarized by state terror.²¹ Its grassroots and diocesan leadership has agreed to rebuild community meeting points for a start, in order to resuscitate symbols of order and tranquility by removing pictorial scenes of past disasters. To achieve this goal, the CCJP sponsored the repair of the community shed at Chivi Growth Point where residents meet to deliberate their development agendas across the denominational and political divides. At the time of writing, it was sponsoring community ball games where participants 'kick' and 'knock' hatred (socio-political) out of their midst in the Chivi, Masvingo and Mwenezi districts.²² The said community acrimony has been lurking among the communities since the emergence of the volatile political situation in 2000, which has since then prioritized *jambanja* (political violence with tacit approval of the state) as a method of punishing and converting opponents.²³ The

²⁰ Maondo, Pers. Comm.s, CCJP Member Masvingo Urban, 2017.

²¹ Tarwirei, Pers. Comm.s, CCJP Member Mwenezi Communal Lands, 2017.

²² Chikukwa, Pers. Comm., CCJP Masvingo Diocesan Coordinator, Masvingo Urban Offices, 2017.

²³ L.M. Sachikonye, "The Promised Land: From Expropriation to Reconciliation and *Jambanja*," in B. Raftopoulos and T. Savage (eds), *Zimbabwe:*

method is an open affront to the theology of the *imago Dei* since it prioritizes select rewards and punishments without universal respect for all people. The CCJP community members have not tired in their endeavour to bring about a just society as the basis for true community development. In the period from July to September 2017, members have been receiving bicycles for the purposes of easy movement in their endeavour to educate the community on the importance of the theology of the *imago Dei*.²⁴ They hope to inculcate trust for corporative development of human communities. They are cognizant of the fact that failure by the church led to two world wars which were atrocious in terms of human casualties, and the Catholic Church does not want a repeat of history.

Caritas: Gweru-Masvingo Diocese

The name Caritas was adopted recently. The Diocese has been using the name CADEC (Catholic Development Commission). Each parish has committees that look into community development under Caritas.²⁵ Caritas members use their knowledge of community needs to propose development projects for their areas. Before approval, the trained staff of Caritas carries out impact assessment by engaging the local community across the religious and political divides. They engage the traditional and political leadership of the area to create a harmonious outcome. Caritas has been much concerned with equipping people with skills as well as resources for sustainable survival. Thus, food handouts have been short term mitigations in dire times such as the droughts of 1991-95 and 2007-08. During the droughts of the 1990s Caritas ordered maize and sold it in communities at competitive prices to protect people from being ripped

Injustice and Political Reconciliation, Harare: Weaver Press, 2005; J. Muzondidya, "Jambanja: Ideological Ambiguities in the Politics of Land and Resource Ownership in Zimbabwe," in *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33 (2), 2007.

²⁴ Shohayi, Pers. Comm., CCJP Member St Luke's Parish, Chivi Growth Point, 2017.

²⁵ Gwitima, Pers. Comm., St Luke's Parish Chairman, Chivi Growth Point, 2017.

off by unscrupulous maize dealers.²⁶ People were hard hit and could hardly manage transport costs to go and source maize for themselves. They were, therefore, thankful for the moves by Caritas to source the staple for them, and then sell them at good prices. Although some who were in aggravating circumstances were issued with food stuff free of charge, the rest were supposed to contribute towards their feeding by purchasing food stuffs cheaply.

At Makari, 53 km south of Masvingo on the Harare-Beitbridge road, Caritas funded a craft centre that thrived to excel and changed the lives of thousands.²⁷ The craftsmen and women made *makari* (big clay pots) and wood and limestone carvings for the external markets. The craft persons say they were able to overcome problems of hunger, health care and school fees. They maintain that they were always the first to pay their school dues as well as equip their children with the requisite items for schooling, well ahead of those formally employed. It was marvelous to tour their homes, complete with modern houses, cattle kraals and goat pens. A section of them also had a combined piggery project resulting from the proceeds of the craft center.

Disaster came with 'Operation Murambatsvina' (Operation Clean Up),²⁸ which reduced the road side market to mere rubble before market opening one morning. The operation was politically motivated by the ZANU-PF government to punish communities that had voted for their opponents, the MDC, by destroying their property and dispersing them where possible.²⁹ Of course it was difficult to be 100% clinical in its operations, which also left some ZANU-PF members in quandary. The Makari community was close to the MDC candidate's home and many of its members

²⁶ Mashoko, Pers. Comm., Caritas Member St Annah Centre, Chivi Growth Point, 2017.

²⁷ Chiseure, Pers. Comm., Caritas Member St Simon, Chivi Rural, 2017.

²⁸ Although the operation 'cleaned up' places of structures not approved by government, its real aim was to 'sweep' away opposition strongholds. See A.K. Tibaijuka, *Report of the Fact-Finding Mission to Zimbabwe to Assess the Scope and Impact of Operation Murambatsvina by the UN Special Envoy on Human Settlements Issues in Zimbabwe*, New York: UN, 2005, pp. 1-100.

²⁹ Ibid.

were openly non-ZANU-PF, which was a clear recipe for disaster. Some members collapsed as they received the news of the destruction of their market from those who had gone to the market earlier. One member, Mr Chomutiri,³⁰ said two months went by before he could muster enough courage to go to the market place to see for himself. It was only after the CCJP "heal the wounds" campaign that he dared try and overcome the scars for the sake of the young, least they also 'stick on' and refuse to proceed. The state action left the society more polarized, which was further worsened by selective assistance to vagrants, based on political affiliation. Government food handouts were given along party lines.³¹

At Chivi Growth Point, Caritas constructed a *Dovi* (peanut butter) Community Factory shell complete with machines, for the local community in 2015.³² The cooperative members were given materials to start up the project whose set up they had graciously contributed to through labour, and to a lesser extent, cash. Their inputs were meant to define ownership and hard work.

At Danga Mposi, in central Mberengwa, Caritas heeded the community call for the repair of the worn-out old dam built by the SMB missionaries in the 1960s.³³ Caritas repaired the dam in 1993 at the heart of a drought. They provided cement and builders. The local community provided general labour in return for food. After the completion of the project, Caritas went ahead and provided fencing for five cooperative gardens around the dam. Each cooperative was provided with cement for a two squat-hole ablution block and the members provided the rest. The cooperatives were able to open up links with local schools for the provision of vegetables. These and other small sales enabled them to meet basic necessities including food, detergents and school fees. They were very proud of

³⁰ Chomutiri, Pers. Comm., Caritas Member Sese, Chivi Rural, 2017.

³¹ Mucheri, Pers. Comm., Caritas Member St Simon's, Chivi Rural, 2017.

³² Magura, Pers. Comm., Caritas Member St Luke's, Chivi Growth Point, 2017.

³³ Zhou, Pers. Comm., Caritas Member Mposi, Mberengwa Communal Lands, 2017.

Caritas as an organization and the Catholic Church in general for its respect for the *imago Dei* in all people, including the underprivileged.

Examples given here are only the tip of the iceberg. They represent the nature of Caritas' involvement in human affairs. The examples also represent the nature of challenges that the church met in its effort to empower people in a volatile political environment represented by the Makari demise. The case of Makari demonstrates that different religious communities can work together to address social challenges. Although the project belonged to Caritas, the CCJP come in to try and normalize the situation after the disaster.

Rural Unity for Development Organization (RUDO): Gweru-Masvingo Diocese

The acronym 'RUDO' (love) has been very deliberate, for an organization formed on the foothills of the 1991-92 major drought. It was initially meant to assist the vulnerable with food handouts. Its gospel tone was not only because it had a Catholic Holy Cross sister at its helm, but its deliberate focus was to create synergies amongst churches, community leadership and the general populace in the area covering the Gweru-Masvingo Diocese. Sr. Chiedza, the household name behind RUDO, created a name for herself and for the church in general through her emphasis on the common good in all human endeavours because the *imago Dei* should neither be starved nor stifled. She successfully weaned the organization from a primary concern with food handouts to creating sustainable livelihoods for the eradication of poverty foreshadowing the emergency of a health community. The organization weighed in on health issues under the theme "Nutrition and livelihoods: Church response to HIV/AIDS." Communities were enabled to maximize production on small pieces of land, including vegetable gardens to boost nutrition. They complemented edible crops with herbal gardens. Herbal gardens particularly 'took the stage by storm' from the late 1990s up to about 2008. All this drew the general populace towards the charismatic Holy Cross nun, the visible face of the organization.³⁴

³⁴ Mutiro, Pers. Comm., RUDO Coordinator, Masvingo Offices, 2017.

RUDO donated pass-on-goats to the communities to boost protein production for the creation of a healthy community. The goats provided fees relief for the underprivileged. Once they multiplied, they could be sold as education or health cover. One Form Three student at Keyara in Mbaeengwa West had 27 goats to his name in January 2017.³⁵ The goats had acted as his fees cover since Form One, leaving the orphan some independence to operate with a free mind.

RUDO encouraged handcrafts. Clubs were formed with ladies instructed in doilying, tailor-made for the external markets. Instead of sourcing donations for the project from western donors, the cooperative members were themselves encouraged to unlock foreign currency through hard work.³⁶

Conclusion

The Catholic Church clearly emphasized the *imago Dei* in all its development agendas. The *imago Dei* has been the tying knot of its ten social teachings summarized in the common good. For its outreach programmes as well as the proliferation of its teachings, the Roman Catholic Church is dependent on interested local religious communities. The local religious communities have created the necessary synergies with the local leadership to allow for subsidiarity. Funds are channeled into the hands of well-polished Catholic FBOs for easy accountability. This satisfies external donors who value credibility as a basis for the release of funds. The religious sisters even allow their members to work with communities outside the Catholic fraternity, with tremendous success. This is true in the case of Sr Chiedza at the helm of RUDO. In this case the Catholic Church markets the *imago Dei* concept to the larger community, just as it invites the larger community to share in the *imago Dei* through invitations to work with the Catholic FBOs Caritas, CCJP and RUDO.

³⁵ Mangena, Pers. Comm., RUDO Member, Keyara, Mberengwa Communal Lands, 2017.

³⁶ Mposi, Pers. Comm., RUDO Member, Mposi, Mberengwa Communal Lands, 2017.

Chapter 6: Religious Values, Women and the Concept of Development

Felicidade N. Chirinda

Introduction

Mozambique gained independence in 1975 through war that lasted for ten years. Soon after independence, the country faced sixteen years of another war between brothers and sisters. This war was more destructive than the first one because it spread all over the country in such a way that many people died. Women and young girls were raped; houses and social infrastructures were destroyed; in short, Mozambicans' dignity was highly violated and affected. Thus, for many years Mozambique suffered violence – political, social, ethnic and religious.

The religious violence was the most destructive because people were already traumatized by the political and social violence and were expecting to find healing in the religious realm. This reality drove people to a situation of abject vulnerability, with psychological and emotional trauma. Herman states that to study psychological trauma is to come face to face both with human vulnerability in the natural world and with the capacity for evil in human nature.¹ It means bearing witness to horrible events. Indeed, Mozambicans were exposed to extreme violence and witnessed horrible deaths, in some cases these deaths were of their parents and relatives. Because of the intensity of humiliation caused by the war, the Mozambicans' identity, citizenship and self-esteem were lost, which led to the damaging of God's image in them.

Till today, many Mozambicans are still terrorized and helpless because of exclusion and discrimination that is widespread; they are fearful and have no control of themselves. Therefore, there is a need of continuing

¹ Judith Herman, *Trauma and Recovery: The Aftermath of Violence – from Domestic Abuse to Political Terror*, New York: Basic Books, ²2015 (1992).

reconciliation and memory healing so that the process of development can take place.

Nevertheless, the independence event meant a rebirth, as the Mozambicans gained a flag and a proper identity as part of a great transformation.² The country rejoiced, but the wounds were not healed. The recovering of identity was very good, but not enough. People need to feel liberated from all evil experiences and traumas. People need to recover dignity and God's image. Hence, the recovering of one's identity needs also to be completed by socio-economic, cultural and religious values that can best reflect the image and likeness of God.

It can also be argued that the twenty-six years of war destroyed a generation. But with reference to women, the war years did not destroy the inner feeling of being a mother. Being a mother, or better, a caring mother, is to hold a sacred gift. A caring mother is always ready to die in defence of her children. The author keeps in her memory the image of a mentally disturbed woman called Nhlomulu which means "Misfortune," who lived on the streets. Nhlomulu was sexually abused and got pregnant. When she gave birth, she continued to live on the streets with her baby. Many people had pity for the baby and wanted to help, but Nhlomulu rejected the help. The only solution found by those who wanted to help, was to tear off the baby from her. One day, these people approached Nhlomulu and immobilized her. Then, they took the baby and departed. Nhlomulu ran after them, but they had a car and so they disappeared. Nhlomulu cried out in such a way that those passing by stopped and tried to comfort her, but it was in vain. Some days later, Nhlomulu was found dead in the place where she used to sleep with her baby.

I witnessed the above episode while I was still young, but the images of this tragedy continue to visit me. The picture is there to challenge my tools of a practical theologian in order to find solutions to the plight of women. To date, I ask myself and wonder if Nhlomulu was really a mad woman or if she had just assumed madness in order to flee atrocities at

² I.B. Lundin, "Participação Política do Cidadão numa Sociedade em Mudança: Desafio das Abstenções nas Eleições de 2008 e de 2009 em Moçambique," 2012.

home. Maybe she had nobody to trust, or nobody offered her a listening ear. Anyway, Nhlomulu proved to be a caring mother; she died because she was prevented from taking care of the sole thing that belonged to her. This story brings the reader to the Mozambican mothers who led the church during the liberating war. These mothers refused to see their church die because of the absence of men. They used their gifts in order to keep the church alive. When women act as mothers, even without consciousness, they play a role in transforming society.³ This was the case of the mothers in Protestant Churches of Mozambique.

Women in the Church

Women were physically and spiritually present in the church during the sixteen years that the war lasted. Women led the church during that period. They did that without having benefited from any kind of training. Many of them were illiterate but could recite bible passages; they could preach and pray. They could discuss issues that affected their life, their country and the Church. They were sure that God was listening and caring. They wanted to praise him and to feel His presence. They also wanted to pray for their husbands and sons who were in the war and or in the prisons; they wanted to pray for the liberation of their country but, more importantly, they were asking God to allow their daughters to study theology so that they could lead the church.

Women led the church because the majority of men were fighting in the bush or on other political fronts, meaning that they led the church without any patriarchal approval. Unfortunately, it is not easy to demonstrate statistically how they did it because, as already mentioned, these women were illiterate, a barrier that prevented them from writing reports that could feed this chapter. Illiteracy is one of the heritages from the colonial regime. According to Cruz e Silva,⁴ very few studies about Protestant Churches were produced during the colonial regime because the practice of writing was in the hands of missionaries. The local clergy and ordinary

³ E.G. Ferris, *Women as Peacemakers*, Geneva: WCC, 1996.

⁴ T. Cruz e Silva, *Igrejas Protestantes e Consciência Política no Sul de Moçambique: O Caso da Missão Suiça (1930-1974)*, Maputo: Promédia, 2001, p. 14.

members were not instructed in this important tool. As a result, the local congregations' history is told verbally and, thus, changes with the passing of time. Cruz e Silva's statement helps us to understand why the culture of writing is absent within Protestant churches in Mozambique.

The absence of written reports about women's work during the time that the war lasted, never prevented community members from sharing with pride the way they were cared for by women while men were fighting for freedom. This reality makes many church and society members to expect seeing women in the leadership of the church. They expect seeing women pursuing their calling, studying and progressing in many areas of theology and of development. The expectations are also to see these women exerting their ministry as teachers, priests or pastors and reflecting theologically and with authority on social, cultural, economic and spiritual issues. It is also expected that their discourse may challenge, change and transform lives. Sadly, in the work field, the number of theologically trained women is minimal, which affects the impact of their ministry and relevance.

The other aspect that affected the church was the spreading of the slogan "there is no God." No one is ready to explain if Mozambicans were cursing God or were questioning His sovereignty. Anyhow, Scriptures teaches that only fools can say "There is no God" (Psalm 14:1; 53:1). Therefore, it is correct to affirm that the Mozambicans' rebellion led to the closing, naturalizing and destruction of temples, churches, schools and hospitals. People adopted destructive behaviour, and nowadays the country finds itself full of criminals, corrupted churches and politicians and full of immorality, and many other social vices. Chirinda stated that many Christians wanted to remain accountable to their faith but, because of the persecution, they found themselves in a dilemma of loyalties between their faith and their political allegiance.⁵ Many who grew up after independence, were not introduced to valuable notions and practices of the Christian faith because their parents failed in adopting self-discipline. Having lost wisdom, there was no instruction, and women, being the

⁵ Felicidade N. Chirinda, *Christianity in Mozambique*, 2016, p. 654.

vulnerable majority, were the most affected because negative cultural practices increased.

This chapter aims at contributing to the process of developing an integral theology of development by reflecting on how negative religious values and traditional practices have been used against women. This will be done by highlighting negative practices that enslave women in Mozambique and outside it, by challenging, contextualizing and transforming them through case studies. Finally, a proposal on how women can contribute to a female theology discourse that fosters development will be formulated.

Culture, Religion and Women

Culture is defined in many ways. The Longman Dictionary defines culture as customs, beliefs, art, music, and all the other products of human thought made by a particular group at a particular time.⁶ Kangwa defines culture as distinctive patterns of ideas, beliefs, and norms that characterize the way of life of a society or a group and the relations between its members.⁷ He adds that culture consists of the traditions and customs transmitted through learning. Both definitions mention belief, customs and the fact that culture is a product of a particular group that is transmitted to the following generations. These definitions help to understand that culture can change but, for this to happen, those who are in control have to decide what to change, what to retain and why. Therefore, culture may change from bad to worse or from bad to good. Some degrading practices to women may also be introduced through societal behaviour. The experience of the Mozambican women is that culture is replacing bad practices with awful ones. For example, women were coerced to accept *lobola* but now, they can refuse it. However, if they die, their parents do not accept the funeral to take place before the payment of *lobola* by

⁶ Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, 1989, p. 251.

⁷ Jonathan Kangwa, *Gender, Christianity and African Culture: Reclaiming the Values of Indigenous Marriage and Female Initiation Rites*, Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, 2017, p. 36.

the widowed husband. This is a horrible cultural practice that is threatening families and the church.

The Longman Dictionary defines religion as a belief in the life of the spirit, usually in one or more gods,⁸ while Kangwa defines religion as a cultural universal which consists of beliefs and behaviours concerning supernatural beings and forces. Both definitions highlight the fact that religion is linked to belief. What is intriguing is the fact that the majority of believers in whatever system are women but the leaders are men. Now, it is obvious that men create norms and taboos which people are manipulated to accept as sacred. Women are taught that religious issues are to be dealt with by men only because they are clean, while women are unclean. Unfortunately, many women believe that they are unclean. This teaching must be challenged.

Women are created in God's image and likeness. Women love God and love Christ very much. They are ready and willing to serve him with joy, but they cannot because they are in a lower category. This situation is perpetuated by patriarchy that is all over in the homes, in church and in society. It is the aim of this chapter to challenge men's headship in the church because it is where I live and work and I can testify of the abuse as it is especially perpetrated by the men of the collar.

'Scriptures' that Foster Patriarchy

Isabel Phiri defines patriarchy as a father-ruled structure where all power and authority rests in the hands of the male head of the family.⁹ She goes on saying that the majority of the African societies and almost all African churches are structured on the basis of patriarchal patterns. Patriarchy is an institutionalized male power system over them. Within this system, women are considered as being of inferior status, therefore prone to exclusion, abuse, violence and oppression, hence unqualified for pursuing theological studies. The poor image that is constantly used against women fosters their complexes of nothingness and of low self-esteem.

⁸ The Longman Dictionary, 1989, p. 878.

⁹ Isabel Apawo Phiri, *Women, Presbyterianism and Patriarchy: Religious Experience of Chewa Women in Central Malawi*, Zomba: Kachere, 2007, p. 12.

Being the excluded and marginalized wing of society, and with special reference to Mozambique, women are the most affected by the teaching of 'the nonexistence of God.' Doriani defends the idea that God nominated men to be the principal leaders of Israel and of the church.¹⁰ He says that Jesus deviated from Jewish traditions that he associated his ministry with women. He also says that the Apostle Paul confirmed the men's leadership in his letters to the Ephesians and to Timothy by writing:

Wives, submit to your own husbands, as to the Lord. For the husband is head of the wife, as also Christ is head of the church (Ephesians 5: 22).

I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man, but to be in silence (1 Timothy 2:12).

It is true that Paul is generally accused of advocating the subjugation of women to men. However, it is not also true that Paul defends equality and partnership of man and woman before God? So, how can we understand Paul? Hermeneutical principles invite us to understand him in his own context, Jewish and Hellenistic.

The Jewish culture oppressed women. They were treated as inferior; they could not speak to a man (John 4:27); they could not touch a man; in the synagogue, they sat apart; they could not read the Torah, meaning that the worship could not take place if men were absent. Contrarily, in the Hellenistic world, women were allowed participation and opinion (Mt 27:19). Feeling anointed to proclaim Jesus' mission (Mt 5:17), Paul challenged the Jewish culture. He introduced fundamental changes in the ministry and he allowed women's participation in God's work (Rom 16:1ff).

Pauline passages that subjugate women are systematically mentioned by male clergy because they benefit from them. These passages maintain their authority even if it is questioned. They can oppress women, they can abuse them emotionally, physically and sexually; they can violate their basic rights but, during election periods, they will be supported by

¹⁰ Dan Doriani, *Mulheres e Ministério*, Cambuci São Paulo: Editora Cultura Cristã, 2009, p. 53.

the same women they abused. Paul wrote that those who cause divisions and offenses must be avoided because they are not serving the Lord (Rom 16: 17-18). Chirinda questioned clergy behaviour in the following words:

What makes the Church and society tolerate clergy who act as predators, who kill others spiritually, psychologically, emotionally and relationally in terms of self, of others and of God? How do clergy who behave in this way continue holding their positions peacefully?¹¹

The answer to the above questions has to come through practical actions that show responsible care, respect and responsibility.

Isabel Phiri tells a sad religious experience of Chewa women in Central Malawi caused by literal and uncritical reading of biblical texts like the above since the missionary era. Those who replaced missionaries added more pain to women when they combined negative religious values with negative cultural practices.¹² This harm destroyed lives of many women with ignorance and by diseases such as HIV and AIDS in Southern Africa and in the entire world. In my opinion, the African leadership may have enjoyed and therefore adopted the western way of interpreting scriptures because it benefited them. However, it is shameful and ridiculous to continue holding a position and using a belief that is far odd old in our twenty first century, only for the purpose of oppressing God's people. It is a crime to pervert God's Word for personal benefit. Unfortunately, the above practices are still present in the church and are responsible for women's discrimination and abuse. From the above statements one can see that the mentality that women are of inferior status is widespread. Kangwa says that it has been observed that almost everywhere in the world women have lower social status than men.¹³ They are discriminated against in social, economic, political and religious contexts.

¹¹ F.N. Chirinda, *Sexual Abuse of Female Clergy by Male Clergy: A Challenge to Pastoral Care Ministry*, 2016, p. 5.

¹² I.A. Phiri, *Women, Presbyterianism and Patriarchy: Religious Experience of Chewa Women in Central Malawi*, Zomba: CLAIM-Kachere, 2007, p. 55.

¹³ Jonathan Kangwa, *Gender, Christianity and African Culture: Reclaiming the Values of Indigenous Marriage and Female Initiation Rites*, Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, 2017.

The male leadership has been accused of refusing the participation of women in leadership roles in the Church. Isabel Phiri explains how the Nkhoma Synod in Malawi used scriptures to prevent women from leadership. She says:

When the missionaries came, they showed it very clearly to us that women should not hold positions of leadership. Therefore, the Synod is only following that example...The example is a good one because it is supported by Scripture.¹⁴

The above statement penalizes male clergy in Africa because it clearly shows that they only follow rules; they lack initiative; they make no effort to understand Paul's discourse in Scriptures. As a result, they control people instead of empowering them. Scriptures must be read contextually, meaning that Paul wrote according to different contexts that he served. Men and women exercise the ministry according to the charisma given to them.¹⁵ There is no silent partner in the Pauline community. Paul advocates such a positive role for women against the background of Judaism where women had a passive role.

Vasanthakumar is right because for the Apostle Paul all social categories like Jews and Gentiles, male and female, slave and master broke down in Christ not only during the worship service, but in all spheres of life. Shisanya tells the story of Ngoya, a female and single theologian trained and ordained but who faced a great deal of opposition due to her gender. For example, she was refused to pray for children, to officiate over weddings and funerals, because those were roles for men.¹⁶ Isabel Phiri tells

¹⁴ Isabel Apawo Phiri, *Women, Presbyterianism and Patriarchy: Religious Experience of Chewa Women in Central Malawi*, Blantyre: CLAIM-Kachere, 2007, p. 10.

¹⁵ N. Vasanthakumar, *Rereading the Scripture: A Hermeneutical Process*, Geneva: WARC, 1993, p. 23.

¹⁶ C.A. Shisanya, "Double Jeopardy: The Story of a Single Female Pastor in a Patriarchal Quaker Church in Nairobi-Kenya," in Isabel Apawo Phiri, Devakarsham Betty Govinden and Sarojini Nadar (eds), *Her-stories: Hidden Histories of Women of Faith in Africa*, Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 2002 pp. 225-245.

the story of Victory Mbanjwa who was called twenty-seven years old but was ordained when she was seventy-three.¹⁷

The two examples above are a clear demonstration that patriarchy in Southern Africa is still obstructing the advancement of the Gospel.

Paul challenged the leaders of the church in Rome and urged them to provide effective care to the community that included women. *We then who are strong ought to bear with the scruples of the weak, and not to please ourselves. ... Therefore receive one another, just as Christ also received us* (Rom 15:1, 7). The leaders of the church in Rome were challenged to be inclusive, to care for the community as a whole, thus imitating the paths of their Lord Jesus. Similarly, he wrote to the Galatians that *there is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus* (Gal 3:28). Galatians were challenged to confer equal status on both men and women before God. Similarly, the passage in the letter to the Ephesian Church is teaching about safe relationships between men and women and between them with Christ as representatives of the Church. The Church leaders in Africa are equally called to accountability. They have to provide care and guidance to the Lord's Sheep and the harvest will be extraordinary.

Women are encouraged to pursue their call. They are called to be wise in all their acts. By being wise, they can instill and say a vigorous NO to all forms of discrimination, abuse and oppression caused by the wrong use and abuse of scriptures. Women have to be strong; they are called to respectfully demonstrate their will, unity and strength so that they can be liberated from irresponsible male headship.

Women love God, women serve Christ with joy and respect; they are fully present in the church because they know that God does not discriminate. Women can serve with excellence in homes, in the Church and in the society if they are not discriminated against, violated and abused only

¹⁷ Isabel Apawo Phiri, "Called at Twenty-Seven and Ordained at Seventy-Three! The Story of Rev. Victory Nomvete Mbanjwa in the United Congregational Church in Southern Africa" in Isabel Apawo Phiri, Devakarsham Betty Govinden and Sarojini Nadar (eds), *Her-stories: Hidden Histories of Women of Faith in Africa*, Pietermaritzburg: Cluster, 2002, p. 199-144.

for being women because they have both the calling and the intellectual ability. Therefore, they qualify for undertaking theological studies and reflect theologically in order to challenge and transform the culture of oppression, violence, disease and poverty.

Theological Education for Women

Records of the first engagement of women in theological studies are found in the eighties. Their admission to Ricatla United Seminary (RUS), the first institution to open doors for women, was, in a big part, due to the advocacy and prayers of women.

Women gained conscience that they can lead churches because of the good work they were doing in many congregations. However, the admission of women to theological training institutions was not an easy task, but patience and confidence in God led to victory.

Christian Seminaries' main objective is to train future ministers, that is, 'the clergy.' Ricatla United Seminary is no exception. The survey indicates that theological training was inaugurated in 1958. All students were men and the first graduation took place in 1962. Female students only joined in the eighties.

Ricatla United Seminary admits students from the twenty-four member churches of the Christian Council. However, not all member churches send students to Ricatla, but the reasons behind this attitude are beyond the aim of this chapter.

Among the churches that normally send students to RUS, to date, only nine sent women to be theologically trained. These are the Anglican Church, Congregational Church, Evangelical Church of Christ Nampula, Evangelical Church of Christ Zambezi, Lutheran Church, Presbyterian Church, United Church of Christ, United Methodist Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Church. Some of these churches sent only one female student. The following table shows how many students graduated at RUS.

Ricatla United Seminary

Period	Male Students	Female Students
1958 to 1988	74	0
1989 to 2015	211	57
TOTAL	285	57

Statistical Data

Graduation	Male	Female	Total
1962	14	0	14
1965	4	0	18
1966	2	0	20
1967	3	0	23
1973	7	0	30
1974	5	0	35
1975	7	0	42
1980	14	0	56
1982	13	0	69
1988	5	0	74
1989	3	1	78
1990	18	0	96
1991	7	0	103
1992	4	2	109
1993	6	1	116
1994	1	3	120

1995	8	1	129
1996	12	1	142
1997	15	0	157
1998	10	4	171
1999	8	3	182
2000	8	0	190
2001	8	2	200
2002	6	0	206
2004	12	6	224
2005	9	3	236
2006	3	2	241
2007	8	6	255
2008	4	2	261
2009	20	5	286
2010	8	0	294
2011	7	2	303
2012	8	3	314
2013	7	4	325
2014	6	3	334
2015	5	3	342
TOTAL	285	57	342

During fifty-nine years of its existence, RUS graduated 342 students, 285 male theologians against 57 female theologians (20%). The above data is very challenging as it clearly shows that the church lacks theologically trained personnel. It also shows that women hold a masculine discourse because almost all the teachers are men. It can be assumed that the

Mozambican church is male oriented which accounts for the high level of domestic and gender-based violence in the church and in the society.

It is also important to mention that not all female theologians who graduated were ordained by their sending denominations. Some were refused ordination for being single; others for having married a man belonging to another denomination that does not recognize female ministry; others were not taken seriously and ended up in teaching activities or, were simply forgotten.

It can be argued that the Protestant Churches in Mozambique are still reluctant to send women to be trained theologically. For example, in 2017, there were eleven male students who would graduate, against one female student.

According to Oduyoye, the admission of women to the seminaries continues to be in the hands of church authorities who send prospective ordinands for training. The selection process and financing eliminate women.¹⁸ Oduyoye's observation is still relevant for the Mozambican context. In Mozambique, women are still discriminated against. Churches are reluctant to send them to seminaries or universities to pursue theological studies. Some churches refuse to ordain them, meaning that their voices are silenced, only because they are women.

The above picture is being challenged by denominational Schools. These schools are open to anyone who wants to pursue theological studies, as will be demonstrated by the survey done in two denominational schools. Economic issues may be the factors behind this attitude.

Denominational Theological Schools

Two denominational theological schools were also analyzed. The survey demonstrated that these schools are open to other churches including Zionists and individual students.

¹⁸ Mercy Amba Oduyoye, "Theological Education for Women in Africa, 1978-1996: A Sample Survey," in *The Circle of Concerned Women Theologians*, 1997, p. 54.

School	Period	Male Students	Female Students
Free Methodist Institute	2013-2017	10	6
Khovo Biblical School	1992-2017	35	45
Total		45	51

The Free Methodist Institute was inaugurated in 2013, while Khovo Biblical School was inaugurated in 1980. However, it was not possible to obtain information concerning the first decade of its theological education.

The majority of the women who attend Khovo Biblical School are not sponsored or seconded by their churches. They frequent the classes only to acquire knowledge for their own spiritual growth. These women hold important positions in the Mozambican society. Some are medical doctors, lawyers, secondary school teachers, executive directors, and so on. However, not all women who studied theology at denominational schools are engaged in ministry, which, according to the author is punishing these schools as people tend to lose interest in them. These women could, at least, be engaged in lay ministry.

The other negative aspect that can be found in denominational schools is the quality of their curricula. They are designed for beginners, therefore not applicable for those who want to deepen their knowledge, who are the majority who can pay and maintain these schools in function. Someone enters these schools holding a degree but, at the end of the course, he or she is given a Certificate. This situation is behind the demobilization that is destabilizing these schools.

Theology and Socio-economic Development

Citizenship, socio-economic transformation and development towards dignity and full participation of women are the goals that Southern Africa expects.

Citizenship

The process of building citizenship started with the coming of independence. However, it has had ups and downs because of war, widespread violence, discrimination, abject poverty that drove many girls to prostitution and other degrading practices that need to be ended. With efforts that are undertaken in order to reach effective peace, the process of building responsible citizenship can improve people's status and especially for women if the following issues are given priority.

Self-esteem

Women have to be involved as full participants in the building up of a new socio-cultural economic and religious system based on equality. This will lead to healing of traumas and will create a sense of wellbeing, self-worth and self-respect. While this process needs to be undertaken by both the government and the church, my emphasis goes to the church which is invited to organize workshops that can break the chains of captivity.

Education

Education is the process that develops mind and character. The country and the church are invited to produce well educated and skilled women in order to end all forms of marginalization and exclusion of women in the process of development. When Mozambique attained independence, the rate of illiteracy reached 98%. The most prejudiced were women. Now, this rate is 54%, which continues to be a big challenge. The Church is invited to open doors for those who want to use and share their gifts by empowering women with literacy for personal and collective benefit.

Theological educators are invited to integrate academic learning with spiritual growth, the development of pastoral identity and the develop-

ment of gender sensitivity and inclusiveness toward marginalized groups.¹⁹ Hence, theological educators are called to uphold cultural and religious heritages in order to learn and to redefine social roles in the present context of development.

Family

The Mozambican Constitution states in Article 1:

The family is the basic cell of society and factor of socialization of the human being.²⁰

The above law calls upon all citizens to live and share values that can maintain the family united, developed and living in harmony. This reality will stay if efforts are undertaken in order to implement policies that relieve women from shameful practices and improve their quality of life. This may begin with access to health facilities, education, employment or earning facilities, and land for habitation and agriculture.

In the past, Protestant Churches in Mozambique were able to have an influence on people that produced nationalists who defeated the colonial regime and liberated their country from a cruel system of domination and oppression. Now, the Church is once more urged to transform the actual situation of depravation towards development.

Reflecting on economic reconstruction in Africa, Mugambi says that Africa is a continent which produces what it does not consume, and consumes what it does not produce.²¹ Mozambique is highly affected by this kind of practice. I agree with Mugambi because, beginning with the food that is placed on the Mozambicans' tables, the clothes, the language, the songs and relationships, everything is imported. What our ancestors and parents thought as being valuable norms are now forgotten or ignored.

¹⁹ D. Werner, "Giving Glory to the God of Life in the Context of 21st Century Christianity – Six Essentials Theological Discourses," Nairobi: AACC, 2013, p. 112.

²⁰ Family Law no. 10/2004/August 25.

²¹ Jesse N.K. Mugambi, *The Church and Reconstruction of Africa: Theological Considerations*, Nairobi: AACC, 1997, p. 9.

This is the opportunity given to African people to learn from mistakes in order to build a new order.

This calls for continuing education opportunities for the clergy to update themselves with the changing times.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sketched negative religious and cultural practices within the Mozambican society, within the Church and beyond, in order to call the Church to account so that it can focus on responsible citizenship and development. The chapter emphasized the important role of Christian theological institutions that have to work in collaboration, co-operation and consultation with all concerned with peace, justice and development. This reality will be concrete if the government and the Church and their leadership not only eliminate dehumanizing elements in cultural and religious practices, but, seek peace and justice for all affected.

Chapter 7: Community Based Theological Education for Social Transformation of Women in Chongwe District, Zambia

Judith Lubasi Ilubala-Ziwa

Introduction

In most parts of Zambia, women encounter various social problems. In such situations, religion has been seen to go a step further in providing not only spiritual guidance but also programmes and services that can lead to transformation in the lives of women. This chapter investigates community based religious teachings and how they contribute to social transformation among women in Chongwe District of Zambia. Specifically, the chapter seeks to establish the kind of religious teachings that address social problems affecting women in the district; to establish how women use religious teachings to address social problems affecting them and finally to examine lessons learnt as a model to other communities for women in Zambia and other countries in Africa and beyond.

The study had 20 participants from different religious denominations, three of them were religious leaders and two were village heads. The study used a qualitative approach in data collection, including interviews and observation. The research focused on investigating the type of theological education received and utilized by the women.

Chongwe District

Chongwe District is located 45km east of Lusaka City. The district population according to the 2010 census was 187,969, representing a 22.2% of the total provincial population. Of the population, 93,934 were males and 94,035 were females. The district is sparsely populated with higher concentration at the centre and in the farming areas. The productive age group is severely threatened with HIV and AIDS, poverty and

unemployment.¹ In recent years, due to failure of crops, hunger has exerted its toll on the productivity of Chongwe district. Largely, economic activities are closely linked to rain-fed agriculture. There is also trading with most goods coming from Lusaka, the capital city. The majority of people in Chongwe district are Christians, many of them either Catholics or Protestants and a few who belong to Charismatic or Pentecostal churches.

Background

Christianity centers on the person and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth, a Jew who lived in first century CE Palestine.² Christians believe that Jesus is the Christ and the one promised by God in the prophecies of the Hebrew Bible. Through his life, death and resurrection, he is believed to have freed human beings from their sinful state and made them recipients of God's redeeming grace. During Jesus' lifetime and in the generation after his death, Christianity was marked by egalitarianism in both its teachings and its institutional structures. Transcending the established norms of his own culture, Jesus openly and frequently affirmed women's worthiness and included them in his community of disciples. After his death, women were prominent in leading the emerging church as apostles, deacons and prophets. Since baptism, rather than circumcision, became the primary rite of initiation, women became full members of the community and were given the same rights and duties as men.³ However, in Zambia women continue to experience marginalization from their male counterparts despite attending the same churches and sharing the same beliefs.

Community Based Theological Education

Emile Durkheim conceives education as the mechanism for cultural and societal transmission. He perceives the trans-generational function of

¹ Central Statistical Office, 2011.

² R.M. Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism*, Albany: New York State University Press, 1993.

³ Ibid.

education for his French society in much the same way as it was responsible for social continuity.⁴ Owing to this reasoning, Durkheim defines education as the influence exercised by adult generations on those that are not yet ready for social life or as methodical socialization of the young. Using this understanding, education is considered as a social function because it is the means by which a society prepares its young people for life in the society. In simple terms, education is all about what its recipients ought to become.⁵ This means that the type of education one is exposed to is determined by its objectives. If the objective is to prepare a good member of society capable of surviving in his or her society, then an individual is exposed to education according to the needs of that society. In a similar manner, if the main objective is to prepare a community with theological understanding of matters, then no doubt the community is given theological education.

Kelsey examines theological education using a historical typology in which the terms 'Athens' and 'Berlin' represent two very different approaches.⁶ He maintains that these are the two normative types of theological education. By 'Athens' he means that the goals and methods of theological education are derived from classical Greek philosophical educational methodology. In contrast to the classical model of Athens, which is derived from antiquity, Berlin is taken to be a vocational model derived from the Enlightenment period. Kelsey further argues that the early church adopted and adapted the classical model of Athens. The primary goal of this form of classical education is the transformation of the individual. It is all about character formation, the cultivation of excellence and knowing the supreme good, which, when applied to theological education, means knowing God.⁷

Theological education is, thus, not so much knowing about God as it is about knowing God. It is not primarily about theology, that is, the formal

⁴ E. Durkheim, *Education and Sociology*, New York: Free Press, 1956.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ H.D. Kelsey, *Between Athens and Berlin: The Theological Debate*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993.

⁷ Ibid.

study of the knowledge of God, but it is more about what Kelsey calls *theologia*, that is, gaining the wisdom of God.⁸ Wisdom is sought, not simply as knowledge; and theological education is fundamentally aretaic; it is the development of the virtues, the excellence of the soul. It is the transformation of the character to be God-like. The emphasis, therefore, falls upon personal development and spiritual formation. In that sense the focus is very much upon the individual though it is not individualistic in the modern sense.

If theological education is understood in this way, in terms of *theologia* and the transformation of the individual, then holiness and moral, spiritual, and social transformation are central to the educational task. Graham adds that theological education can be based on various dimensions, for example, denominational based theological education which usually trains church leaders in order to have an immense impact on the church.⁹ Similarly, theological education can be community based, whose main objective is to train community members to use wisdom, virtues and holiness in dealing with community affairs in order to achieve social transformation. In this regard, the curriculum (for example church teachings) is designed to adequately address issues of personal and moral formation with respect to the local community.

Theoretical and Conceptual Analysis of Social Transformation

There are a number of theories and educational innovations to explore the relationship between education and social transformation. Paulo Freire (1921- 1997), has left a significant mark on this concept. Freire assumed that the learners should understand their own reality as part of their learning activity. In his work titled *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*,¹⁰ he referred to the traditional role of learning as a banking system where students store deposits of knowledge made by the teacher. Through liberation and education, he aimed to narrow the gap between the teacher

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ P.G. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New York: Seabury Press, 1970.

and the student, thus increasing the students' creative power. Central to this model was open communication and earnest dialogue between the student and the teacher. This challenged teachers to demonstrate their sense of humanity and that they were not 'above' the students. In problem posing education, people develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation.

According to Heechs, with the transformation and growth of the individual, society would in turn transform and evolve.¹¹ To Mahatma Gandhi, truth, non-violence and passive resistance were successfully used as an instrument of social and political transformation.¹² He believed that education could play an effective role in developing a wholesome human personality capable of resisting war, violence, injustice and oppression and building a social order where man (and woman) could live in peace and harmony with others.¹³

The literal meaning of social transformation is a marked change in a society. If the concept is taken literally, it is possible to see every society experiencing a 'transformation' in social terms. Societies have always been transformed through social processes. However, as an independent concept it appeared in a particular context, and this multidimensional context was the driving force behind UNESCO's organization of the MOST (Management of Social Transformation) programme.¹⁴ This programme launched a growing social scientific concept, 'Social transformation.' When we discuss the concept of 'Social transformation', we should consider that this concept has been produced and is still being reproduced in the ideological streams of the 90s and 20s. When we mention 'Social transformation' as a newborn concept, we are referring to

¹¹ P. Heechs, *Sri Aurobindo: A Brief Biography*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.

¹² J.S. Rajput, "Gandhi on Education," *National Council for Teacher Education*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ S.T. Castle, *Social Transformation and Globalization: CAPSTRANS Development*, 2000.

something more than the literal meaning of these two words. It is a multidimensional concept based on studies in the last century of a broad range of relevant fields like economics, literature and sociology. One of the defining characteristics of social transformation is that it does not stipulate specific societal changes.¹⁵ I see social transformation emanating from the change in an individual. In turn, individual transformation could lead to family and societal transformation.

It could be said that 'Social transformation' is not a completed scientific term, but rather a concept still in its infant stages. As Castle emphasizes, social transformation implies an underlying notion of the way society and culture change in response to such factors as economic growth, war or political phenomena.¹⁶ According to Castle, an analytical framework is particularly relevant to the current historical period. In other words, social transformation studies could be seen as a new interdisciplinary paradigm, which has to continue to be developed. Social transformation studies emerged as a research field that can lead to theorizing positive social and political actors to protect locals and communities against the negative consequences of the individual, community and globalization process.¹⁷

Literature Review

I did not find adequate literature on community based theological education for social transformation among women in Zambia. However, literature related to religion and women was found useful.

Gross reports that in ancient times, egalitarianism was gradually replaced with patriarchal institutional structures after Christianity spread through the Mediterranean world in the 1st century and then, two centuries later, when it became the official religion of the Roman Empire. Such changes in structure were accompanied by a theology, which identified the patriarchal social order with the divinely created order and thus insisted that

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

the proper relationship between men and women was one in which men ruled and women were obedient.¹⁸

This background, however, has been widely misused in modern communities as it has brought many challenges on women. For instance, research has shown that worldwide nearly one in four women reports sexual violence by an intimate partner in her lifetime. Women face this and other types of violence because of their subordinate status in society. Many traditional and customary practices perpetuate women's subordinate legal, social, and economic status. These cultural beliefs and practices include polygamy, gender-based violence (GBV), virginity testing and female genital mutilation (a practice still common in some countries in Africa) among many others.

In responding to these problems, governments, and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) have found religion and its teachings to be instrumental in helping women mitigate social problems. Religion has been seen to be a key facilitator of social transformation, which every society needs to adhere to in order to address the challenges women encounter. As such, in 1988 the World Council of Churches in Geneva (WCC) launched the Ecumenical Decade of the Churches in Solidarity with Women as a ten-year programme offered to the churches.¹⁹ It was to provide opportunities for the churches to look at their structures, their teachings and practices with a commitment to the full participation of women. It was also an opportunity for the churches to reflect on the lives of women in society and to stand in solidarity with all women. The Ecumenical Decade of the Churches in Solidarity with Women was grounded in the Biblical truth of the common blessing of women and men in creation and the common responsibility they share for nurturing and serving the church and the world. The Decade offered the people a

¹⁸ R.M. Gross, *Buddhism after Patriarchy: A Feminist History, Analysis, and Reconstruction of Buddhism*, New York State University: New York Press, 1993.

¹⁹ M.R. Brubaker, *Justice not Greed*, Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2010.

fresh opportunity to become a community of women and men.²⁰ The people realized that religious teachings were not meant to legitimize the marginalization and exclusion of women from any sphere in society. Instead, religious teachings were perceived to be a social empowerment for women as they promoted violence-free relationships among women and men, unrestricted by traditional, often culturally imposed, gender role expectations and assumptions.

The above experience gives clear evidence that religious teachings, especially if applied to the local society, are key in facilitating social transformation, which in turn helps people, particularly women, to have a fresh view towards issues that marginalize society. As noted by Peterson, this calls for a radical reordering of certain aspects of the life of the church, rooted in a reinterpretation and reconstruction of those practices and teachings that discriminate against women.²¹

Furthermore, other studies have shown that religious teachings and their associated spiritual practices improve coping skills and social support; foster feelings of optimism and hope; promote healthy behaviour; reduce feelings of depression and anxiety and stimulate a sense of relaxation.²² By alleviating stressful feelings and promoting healing ones, spirituality can positively influence immune, cardiovascular (heart and blood vessels), hormonal and nervous systems. Legedza cites the Seventh-day Adventists (SDAs) as an example of a religious organization whose teachings promote a healthy lifestyle.²³ He argues that those who follow its teachings are healthy for they are instructed by their Church not to consume alcohol, eat pork or smoke tobacco. In a 10-year study of SDAs in

²⁰ I.A. Phiri and S. Nadar, *On Being Church: African Women's Voices and Visions*, Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2005.

²¹ S.M. Peterson, "The Role of Spirituality in Psychosocial Rehabilitation," *Psychiatric Rehabilitation Journal*, 25(4), 2002, pp. 330-340.

²² A.M. McCaffrey, D.M. Eisenberg, A.T. Legedza, R.B. Davis, and R.S. Phillips, "Prayer for Health Concerns: Results of a National Survey on Prevalence and Patterns of Use," *Archives of Internal Medicine*, 164, (2004): 858-862.

²³ A.T.R. Legedza, "Asian Americans' Reports of their Health Care Experiences," *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, vol. 19, Issue 2, 2004, p. 111-119.

the Netherlands, researchers found that Adventist men lived 8.9 years longer than the national average, and Adventist women lived 3.6 years longer. For both men and women, the chance of dying from cancer or heart disease was 60 and 66% less, respectively, than the national average.²⁴

Additionally, researchers such as Toneatto and Fleischman believe that certain beliefs, attitudes, and practices associated with being a spiritual person influence one's inner social transformation.²⁵ In a study carried out in Miami, of people with acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), those who had faith in God, compassion toward others and a sense of inner peace had a better chance of surviving for a long time than those who lived without such belief systems. Qualities like faith, hope, and forgiveness, and the use of social support and prayer seemed to have a noticeable effect on health and healing.²⁶

Toneatto states that women oftentimes developed a sense of inferiority complex; they lost hope and faith in themselves. However, he found that religious teachings tended to boost women's faith and hope and helped them develop a sense of self-actualization.²⁷ Furthermore, some researchers believe that faith increases the body's resistance to stress. For example, in a 1988 clinical study of women undergoing breast biopsies, the women with the lowest stress hormone levels were those who used their faith and prayer to cope with stress.²⁸ Fleischman adds that hope was an important quality, which many women lacked. Without hope, a

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ T.N. Toneatto, "Does Mindfulness Meditation Improve Anxiety and Mood Symptoms: A Review of the Controlled Research," *Can J Psychiatry*, 52(4), 2007, pp. 260-266.

²⁶ Gail Ironson et al, "The Ironson-Woods Spirituality/Religiousness Index is Associated with Long Survival, Health Behaviors, Less Distress, and Low Cortisol in People with HIV/AIDS," in *Ann Behav Med*, 2002, 24(1):34-48.

²⁷ T.N. Toneatto, "Does Mindfulness Meditation Improve Anxiety and Mood Symptoms: A Review of the Controlled Research," *Can J Psychiatry*, 52(4), 2007, pp. 260-266.

²⁸ Ibid.

positive attitude that a person assumes in the face of difficulty, many women become depressed and prone to illness.²⁹

Love and social support are an important aspect which religious teachings develop and use in societies. According to Elliott, a close network of family and friends that offered help and emotional support led to protection against many diseases.³⁰ Elliott further asserts that people who experience love and support can resist unhealthy behaviour and feel less stressed. In a clinical study of a close-knit Italian American community in Pennsylvania, researchers found that the death rate from heart attack was half that of the United States' average. Researchers concluded that the strong social support network helped protect this population from heart disease.

With regard to most communities in Africa, women are exposed to human-degrading or dehumanizing traditional practices. Inheritance is one of such practices. To curb this practice, organizations have considered religion and its teachings to be helpful. For example, in 2009, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) conducted a project in Tanzania titled "The Role of Religious Communities in Addressing Gender-based Violence and HIV."³¹ In this project, various religious leaders were given the task to discuss and present scriptures that would best preserve the affairs of women in society. The Muslim group presented scriptures from the Quran that related to inheritance, saying that women had the legal right to inherit and not be inherited. In addition, Islam condemned the practice of widow inheritance.

During the same project the Hindu group referred to a number of texts used in their faith. They focused on women's role in Hinduism, believing that the reverence for femininity exhibited in their faith revealed an inherent respect for women and thus a condemnation of GBV. Hindus believe that a mother is most important and truly divine, and they worship

²⁹ A.R. Fleischman, "Public Health and Bioethics: The Benefits of Collaboration," *American Journal of Public Health*, 92, 2002, p. 165–167.

³⁰ B. Herstad, *The Role of Religious Communities in Addressing Gender-Based Violence and HIV*, Washington, DC: Health Policy Initiative, 2009.

³¹ *Ibid.*

God as Mother. Thus, each woman is considered a manifestation of the Divine Mother. In the words of Swami Vivekananda, "It is not possible for a bird to fly with only one wing." This statement exemplifies the belief that man and woman are two wings of the same bird, and so a man is incomplete without a woman. Therefore, women should be given protection at every stage of life. Participants who took part in the project also pointed to the valued attributes in Hinduism, such as purity, self-control and devotion, saying that these values pertain to men as much as to women.³²

The group of Christians who took part in the project discussed the stoning of women in the Bible, noting that men were never stoned.³³ They talked about John Chapter 8, where a woman committed adultery and Jesus told the crowd that if there was one among them who thought they had never sinned; let them be the first to throw a stone. The Christians also discussed difficulties related to women's lives, including violence, along with Jesus' healing power. They concluded with the recommendation that religious leaders must heal and spread spiritual messages, as Jesus did.

Generally, all of the participants agreed that their holy books advocated equal treatment of both sexes and that misinterpreting the text or not living according to their precepts could contribute to GBV and many other social problems faced by women. Faith and belief should reinforce the spirit of love, peace, and equity in dealing with one another.

In view of the above reviewed literature, the current study endeavoured to investigate community based religious teachings, and how they contributed to social transformation among women in Chongwe district of Zambia.

³² Ibid.

³³ They disregarded the stoning of Stephen (Acts 7:54-8:1).

Presentation of findings

Twenty percent of the respondents were males while 80% were females. The wide range exists because the research was mainly on female participants.

Problems Affecting Women in Chongwe District

Under this theme, the participants gave a number of problems, like lack of sources of income, long distance to the health centres, misunderstanding with their spouses and loss of spouses. The village heads and church leaders who were interviewed on the same subject pointed to the same problems. One village head went ahead by stating that in 2016, two pregnant women died in his village because the women were not taken to the health centre in time.

When asked how the above cited issues were a problem to women, the majority of the female participants explained that due to lack of financial resources, they were forced to join income generating activities that were meant for men. They indicated that they involved themselves in activities such as digging building sand and loading it onto tipper trucks for sale in town. Others were engaged in vegetable gardening throughout the year, which also had its own challenges, such as lack of money to buy fertilizer and pesticides, the labour of being involved in gardening and unavailability of transport to ferry the produce to Chongwe town for sale.

With regard to long distance to reach a health centre, female participants reported that, whenever a child was sick, it was always a female parent who covered the long distance to reach the clinic. When asked why male parents did not help in taking children to clinics, one female participant explained that taking children to the clinic was traditionally regarded to be the duty of a female parent. This is in agreement with Herstad's (2009) study that women in Africa were exposed to degrading traditional practices.



The pictures above show women in Chongwe district digging and hip-ping building-sand whilst waiting for tipper trucks and the buyer.



The picture shows a truck on its way to the site where women dig and sell building-sand. The trailer of the truck is over 2 m high, but the women still load the sand and fill it to its capacity. They sometimes get onto the same trucks as means of transport to Chongwe town to

buy a few household goods from the money raised from the sale of sand.



A woman is working in the garden nearby the village she lives in. It is through gardening where she raises money to buy the basic needs at home, feed her family and take her three children and two dependents to school.

Religious Teachings

When asked whether the local denominations taught anything related to the problems faced by women in Chongwe area, the participants indicated that many women attend various lessons at the Friday Women Lessons conducted by the United Church of Zambia (UCZ). The Friday women lessons were meant to encourage the women to be self-reliant by being involved in income generating activities. One participant said, "The UCZ has helped me to focus on what I can do to help my family instead of focusing on the problems I face."

Apart from this, other women, for instance Catholic women, indicated that they benefited a lot from their church because they were taught that the world was in the hands of Satan, the devil, who controls it and as such, it was not strange to face challenges in this world. Another woman from a Pentecostal church indicated that she benefited, especially from the church teachings taken from the Bible in Proverbs 31, which states: "praiseworthy is a woman who prepares herself for hard work; she is always industrious and hardworking. Rejoice in the hope, endure under tribulation, persevere in prayer." She stated that these words had been her source of comfort whenever she thought of the problems she went through. This is in agreement with the finding by Toneatto that religious teachings tended to help women develop a sense of self-actualization.³⁴

Responses from the religious leaders indicated that the church strengthens the faith of the followers by preaching about things that concerns the members, such as poverty, unemployment, GBV, HIV and AIDS, relationships and widowhood. "We encourage our members to find solace in hard work rather than depending on God to provide for their livelihood," said one of the religious leaders who belonged to the SDA Church. These

³⁴ T.N. Toneatto, "Does Mindfulness Meditation Improve Anxiety and Mood Symptoms: A Review of the Controlled Research," *Can J Psychiatry*, 52(4), 2007, pp. 260-266.

findings agree with McCaffrey who asserted that religious teachings improve coping strategies.³⁵

Using Religious Teachings to Address Social Problems

Female participants involved in the study testified that religious teachings had been instrumental in helping them adapt and respond to the problems they encountered. One UCZ woman explained how she had been benefiting from the Friday female lessons. "I have learnt that God is the answer to all these problems, as such I always pour out my heart and my problems to God," she said.

Other female participants added that it was the religious teachings which actually helped them to apply themselves towards hard work. One indicated that she found delight and courage whenever she thought of the lessons learnt from Biblical books such as Proverbs 31. "The Bible tells us women to be industrious and hardworking," echoed a Roman Catholic woman. She further added that it was the same Biblical teachings, which motivated her to go to join men in digging building-sand for sale. Like this Catholic woman, an SDA woman added that the fact that God blessed every woman with different abilities, there should be no excuse for any woman to be home with folded hands, signifying laziness. She concluded, "Every woman is encouraged to do something as she waits for God to intervene in her personal and family affairs."

On the other hand, the religious leaders confirmed that they had helped many women by their local area based religious teachings. One UCZ leader indicated that many women were exemplary in church attendance. Another indicated that a number of women were inactive in congregational matters but the religious leaders encouraged them through their methods of preaching which focused on the personal and family needs of the adherents. Additionally, women were encouraged to participate in small group gatherings where they engage in practical skills which they

³⁵ A.M. McCaffrey et al, "Prayer for Health Concerns: Results of a National Survey on Prevalence and Patterns of Use." *Archives of Internal Medicine*, 164, 2004, p. 858–62.

could use for the benefit of themselves, their family and the community at large.

One of the village headmen indicated that he was a Christian. So he encouraged his subjects to stop being idle but to be involved in practical skills such as farming and weaving baskets.

Discussion of the findings

Problems Affecting Women in Chongwe District

Based on the above findings, my observation is that women in Chongwe district face a number of challenges.

Lack of Sources of Income

In Chongwe district, most of the women had no means of raising any income. The women in this area believed that it was the duty of the man to provide for the family. However, some women understood and utilized the Biblical teaching that women were meant to complement their husband's efforts in providing for the family. Undoubtedly, the women embraced various religious teachings which encouraged women to be hard-working and industrious. In their quest to apply these religious teachings, women joined the men in activities and jobs meant for their male counterparts.

Long Distance to Health Centres

At the time of the study, Chongwe district had only one district hospital and 147 health posts which were located far apart from each other.³⁶ As such, women were forced to walk long distances in order to seek health care for themselves, their children and other members of the family. It was rare to find men taking children to clinics, especially in remote areas of the district. The responsibility of child healthcare was traditionally regarded to be the duty of women. This meant that while the men enjoyed socializing with their peers, women strived to do whatever they could in order to ensure that their families were well cared for health wise. This

³⁶ Zambia Country Report, 2017.

was done with hardship, especially since most of the women did not earn any income. It was the love and social support the women received from the religious teachings emphasized by their religious leaders that strengthened their efforts, thereby reducing stress.³⁷

Widowhood

Death is something that no human being can neither control nor avoid. However, it is painful when it takes a loved one, especially the one who provided the basic needs of the family. In Chongwe district, many women were victims of this problem. Some widows remained with no one to provide for them materially and financially. It is no wonder that women joined men in doing hard jobs like digging sand for sale in order to raise money for their family needs. This was harder than casual work. The women had, first, to find the tools such as shovels and picks; these tools were associated with men. However, the women had to use them, holding them firmly so that they could collect as much sand as possible. So the women had to do something against all odds for the sake of their families and the community at large. Other women grew vegetables at their backyards. This was good because the women had healthy vegetables for their meals, selling the little surplus. Gardening also kept them physically fit.

As the women were involved in different activities, they were kept busy and their minds were therefore free from stress. They were capable of resisting violence and oppression, thereby building a social order where human beings could live in peace and harmony with others.³⁸

Access to Education

The study further established that few women in Chongwe district attained secondary education. For example, none of the women who participated in the study had attained secondary education. Most women in

³⁷ B. Herstad, *The Role of Religious Communities in Addressing Gender-Based Violence and HIV*, Washington, DC: Health Policy Initiative, 2009.

³⁸ J.S. Rajput, "Gandhi on Education," *National Council for Teacher Education*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989.

the district only attain primary education. Girls found it difficult to have access to school because of lack of finances. Girls preferred to get married or do house chores to find money than to go to school. Furthermore, the women who participated in the study had a preconception that school was for girls and not for women. They feel ashamed to go back to school because of their age. Otherwise, if they had wanted to, some of them could have used the money they earned to pay their school fees. The Zambian Government allows women to go back to school as long as they show willingness and determination to attend school. One cannot totally blame the women. The money they earned from the income generating activities was not enough for them to pay for their fees and their children's fees. It was better for them to educate their children, the future leaders.

Religious Teachings for the Support of Social Transformation

Religious teachings are among many other solutions to the problems mankind faces. Pieper postulates that solutions to social problems start with inner belief and determination that a problem would be solved.³⁹ In view of this, Pieper concludes that it was only religious teachings which could go to a deeper extent to help human beings solve the challenges they faced. He added that the word of God was alive and exerted power and was sharper than any two-edged sword that pierces even to the dividing of soul and spirit, and of joints from the marrow, and was able to discern thoughts and intentions of the heart (Hebrews 4:12).

Thus, women in Chongwe district benefited from their local denominations. They were helped in such a way that they worked hard and realized their importance and potential in society. Through hard work, they preserved their status as religious and hard-working women who were ready to bring change not only to the Chongwe community but other communities in Zambia and beyond. Instead of dwelling on the problems they went through (such as unemployment and lack of education, cultural barriers and widowhood) which could stress them and attract other health

³⁹ C.F. Pieper, "Brief Meditation Training Can Improve Perceived Stress and Negative Mood," *Altern Ther Health Med*, 13(1), 2007.

problems, Chongwe women appreciated the recognition and teachings they received from their denominations and religious leaders and lived healthy lives. This is in harmony with Elliott who argues that people who experience love and social support tend to resist unhealthy behaviours and feel less stressed. Generally, love and recognition are social aspects which women need in every society for their wellbeing. So if churches emphasize religious teachings which help the community to support women, they help women to attain a social transformation.

Furthermore, despite facing problems such as lack of sources of income, loss of spouses, GBV and many other social phenomena, women in Chongwe still lived happy and contented lives. According to this study, the key to women's wellbeing in this area was hope and faith which were imparted in them by religious teachings. My observation was that the women with much faith and hope in God did not complain much about their problems. The belief that the world was controlled by the devil, and that it was, therefore, not strange for every human being to go through various challenges, made them face the challenges with faith in God and hope for a better future. Faced with the challenges, the women did not remain idle but used the teachings from their churches to become creative and adopt new ways of living, thereby transforming their social status for the good of society.

Commenting on how women could use faith and hope to be the end of every challenge, Fleischman asserts that hope is an important quality which many women lack.⁴⁰ Without hope, a positive attitude that a person assumes in the face of difficulty, many women, and indeed men, become depressed and prone to illness.

Conclusion

Community based theological education for social transformation is a multidimensional activity, which can become a reality only through a process of conscious effort. This is possible through a combined effect of many factors, including religion, in any society. In general, the solu-

⁴⁰ A.R. Fleischman, "Public Health and Bioethics: The Benefits of Collaboration," *American Journal of Public Health*, 92, 2002, p. 165–167.

tion to various social problems women go through in different communities lies in the local denominations, as religion has the power to destroy or build society. For example, if a religious leader admonishes a bride that in her marriage it is "for better for worse," no doubt, even when the young lady faces problems deliberately caused by her husband, she might accept them as such. Religion should not be used to legitimize activities and practices which abuse women. In view of this and in line with what has been established in this study, as the guardians of the religious texts, religious leaders are best placed to guide and influence their communities for the social transformation of all humans, including women. It is highly recommended that religious leaders, especially those in rural districts such as Chongwe, are exposed and made aware of the various social challenges women encounter in their communities. Finally, it is worth noting that the women in Chongwe "developed their power to perceive critically the way they existed in the world in which they found themselves; they came to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation."⁴¹ Indeed, women in Chongwe District have set a good example to other women in Zambia and other countries in Africa and beyond.

Recommendations

While commending the church in Chongwe district for the strides taken in enhancing the dignity of women, it is recommended that:

1. The churches should endeavour to strengthen their corporate responsibility of developing the society through preaching unity between men and women without discrimination based on one's gender.
2. The Zambian government and the church should take necessary steps to uplift the dignity of women in Chongwe district and elsewhere, through seminars, campaigns and other activities.
3. Churches should work with traditional leaders and come up with activities meant to sensitize the community on the importance of

⁴¹ P.G. Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New York: Sea Bury Press, 1970.

men and women working together in developing the common good.

Chapter 8: Witchcraft, Revelation and Education in the Pursuit of Development

Johanneke Kroesbergen-Kamps

Introduction

Development can be defined neutrally as ‘a recent event that is the latest in a series of events,’¹ or as ‘an event constituting a new stage in a changing situation.’² Generally, however, the concept of development is value laden rather than neutral, and refers to an advancement to something getting better than it was. Development is a word that holds many promises; and the failure of these promises to materialize is a disappointment. This chapter discusses one hypothesis that has been proposed to explain the perceived lack of development in Africa, namely that a worldview that incorporates witchcraft is an unfavourable condition for economic progress. Before introducing that perspective, I will explore the local Zambian connotations of the term "development."

Zambian Perspectives on Development

In Zambia, development is viewed from an evolutionist perspective as the movement toward a next level of existence, in which modernity and Christianity are coupled. This perspective invokes the optimistic assumption that history inevitably moves in a straight line, from a base state to an elevated state. This assumption has been very influential in the academic studies of anthropology and sociology as well as in popular conceptions of world history. Anthropologist James Ferguson describes how in the 1950s and 1960s Zambians as well as foreign observers viewed Zambia as a country on the fast track to development.³ The growth of the mining industry was interpreted as Zambia's Industrial Revolution, and

¹ See <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/development>

² Google Dictionary.

³ James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

the development of urban settlements in the mining areas of the Copperbelt was taken as evidence for urbanization. These processes of industrialization and urbanization were seen as sure signs that Zambia was becoming modern and developed—just like Europe had done a century ago. Western-style education, healthcare, and improved infrastructure were believed to follow in the wake of these first signs of industrialization and urbanization. Together they would usher in a new age of modernity in Zambia.

In anthropology and sociology, evolutionist perspectives have lost their appeal. Nowadays, it is more common to speak about 'Multiple Modernities,' a concept that explicitly leaves space for the globally divergent trajectories in which modernity is appropriated and experienced.⁴ In contemporary Zambia, however, evolutionism is not dead. Ferguson describes how the mineworkers he interviewed on the Zambian Copperbelt buy into a grand narrative of progress leading to Western modernity.⁵ Another anthropologist working in Zambia, Karen Tranberg Hansen, notes, "Few Zambians have qualms about the promises of modernization."⁶ As I have argued elsewhere, evolutionist expectations of modernity are present among students in Zambia as well.⁷

⁴ 'Multiple Modernities' is a popular term in contemporary sociology. Among the first to use it were: Arjun Appadurai in *Modernity at Large. Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996; and S.N. Eisenstadt in "Multiple Modernities," in *Daedalus*, 129(1), 2000, p. 1-29.

⁵ James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, p. 34.

⁶ Karen Tranberg Hansen, "Second-Hand Clothing Encounters in Zambia: Global Discourses, Western Commodities and Local Histories," in: Richard Fardon, Wim van Binsbergen and Rijk van Dijk (eds), *Modernity on a Shoestring: Dimensions of Globalization, Consumption and Development in Africa and Beyond*, Leiden: EIDOS, 1999, p. 207.

⁷ Johanneke Kroesbergen-Kamps, "Dreams and Nightmares of Modernity: Accusations and Testimonies of Satanism in Zambia," in: Hermen Kroesbergen (ed), *In Search of Health and Wealth. The Prosperity Gospel in African, Reformed Perspective*, Wellington (SA): CLF, 2013, p. 100-112.

Western ideas about modernity, rational thinking, and secularism are often presented as the opposites of religion and tradition. A distinct characteristic of the *emic*, Zambian, conceptualization of modernity is that it is assumed to go hand in hand with Christianity. In 1857, the great explorer, David Livingstone, "called on professional men to go to Africa as missionaries, with the view of promoting commerce, Christianity and civilization."⁸ These three C's are still connected in the Zambian mind. Christianity was, from the beginning, linked with the promise of development. As Birgit Meyer has shown for Ghana, this made missionary Christianity an enticing alternative for those who wanted to leave tradition behind and become educated, rich and influential.⁹ Rather than being secular, in Zambia modernity is perceived to have a Christian flavour.

Economic circumstances in Zambia make ideas about development and modernity ideals rather than lived realities. When, from the 1970s onwards, the copper price slumped and living conditions deteriorated rather than improved, the mood changed from optimism to a feeling of rejection.¹⁰ Other African countries have different but similar histories of hope and disappointment in development. There are many possible answers to the question, as to why Africa has not become the new Europe. In this chapter, I will discuss the debate surrounding one partial answer, namely that the belief in witchcraft hinders development.

Witchcraft as a Threat to Development

Witchcraft refers to the idea that supernatural harm may be caused by human agents. For missionary Christianity, witches, together with the spirits of ancestors, traditional gods and other spiritual beings, belonged

⁸ Fidelis Nkomazana, "Livingstone's Ideas of Christianity, Commerce and Civilization," in *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, 12(1&2), 1998, p. 44.

⁹ See Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1999.

¹⁰ James Ferguson, *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*, Berkeley: University of California Press. 1999.

to the realm of the Devil.¹¹ For missionaries this conceptualization was an intellectual rather than an experiential exercise. If witches existed, they would be in league with the Devil—most missionaries, however, did not actually believe that witches existed. Bernhard Udelhoven, a Catholic White Father stationed in Zambia, notes that, historically, the White Fathers saw the belief in spirits and witches as superstitious imagination, and preferred not to talk about the spirit world.¹² The denial of witchcraft by Western missionaries has left mission churches largely unable to articulate a Christian pastoral response to supernatural evil.¹³

The belief in witchcraft did not disappear with the advent of Christianity, Western-style education, media, and modern living conditions in general. According to some authors—some of whom will be discussed in this section—witchcraft is even one of the factors that can explain why the pace of development in the developing world is disappointing. For example, Gabriel Kuman, writing about Papua New Guinea, states:

Although [Papua New Guinea] is gradually moving forward to keep pace with the rest of the world in its economic, political, infrastructural and human developments, it cannot shake off many of its ancient beliefs and practices that continue to enslave its people, cause development stagnation and disintegrate families, communities, and societies at large. One of such beliefs that hinder positive development progress is sorcery and witchcraft.¹⁴

Without the belief in witchcraft, Kuman argues, countries like Papua New Guinea would attain all kinds of development.

¹¹ See for an extensive discussion of this process see Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1999.

¹² See Bernhard Udelhoven, *Unseen Worlds: Dealing with Spirits, Witchcraft, and Satanism*, Lusaka: FENZA, 2015, p. 37f.

¹³ J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu (2015) makes this same point in the article "Witchcraft Accusations and Christianity in Africa," in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 39(1), p. 23-27.

¹⁴ Gabriel Kuman, "Sorcery, Witchcraft and Development in Papua New Guinea," in *Catalyst* 41(1), 2011, p. 19.

Witchcraft may resist development in two main ways. First, witchcraft accusations intentionally or unintentionally promote the status quo. In rural areas, those who stand out because they are richer, have more fields or have a successful business are often accused of witchcraft. According to Erich Leistner:

In traditional society, the living conditions and the social status of ordinary people used to be more or less the same. If in such an egalitarian community someone becomes rich, apparently overnight, witchcraft is the only explanation the neighbours can think of. It is the same when someone suddenly achieves a social or political status well above his peers.¹⁵

In what has been called a 'zero-sum universe,' all profit is gained at someone else's loss.¹⁶ There is no room for the advancement of an individual without the decline of another. So if someone advances or becomes rich, this becomes swiftly linked to the misfortune of someone else, and witchcraft accusations against the one who became rich are forthcoming. For some, fear of being accused of witchcraft is a reason not to venture into undertakings that may bring personal advancement.

Another way in which witchcraft accusations promote the status quo has been described by Evans-Pritchard in his classical study on witchcraft and magic among the Azande.¹⁷ According to Evans-Pritchard, witchcraft and witchcraft accusations confirm the value system of the Zande. For Azande, proper behaviour means tending good relations with your neighbours. Those who are somehow not in good standing in the community – ill-tempered people, the disabled, and people with dirty habits or bad manners – are often suspected of being witches. This does,

¹⁵ Erich Leistner, "Witchcraft and African Development," in *African Security Review*, 23(1), 2014, p. 57f.

¹⁶ See Ralph A. Austen, "The Moral Economy of Witchcraft: An Essay in Comparative History," in Jean Comaroff and John Comaroff (eds), *Modernity and its Malcontents. Ritual and Power in Postcolonial Africa*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993, p. 92.

¹⁷ E.E. Evans-Pritchard, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*, Oxford University Press, 1937.

however, not mean that these suspected witches are outcasts in Zande society. On the contrary, they are treated with respect and care. A hunter who kills an animal will make sure that he sends a cut of meat to the nasty old neighbour—because if that neighbour happens to be a witch and would not receive meat, he would surely prevent the hunter from having success in his profession. To quote Evans-Pritchard:

Since Azande do not know, who are and who are not witches, they assume that all their neighbours may be witches, and are therefore careful not to offend any of them without good cause. The notion works in two ways. A jealous man, for instance, will be suspected of witchcraft by those of whom he is jealous and will seek to avoid suspicion by curbing his jealousy. In the second place, those of whom he is jealous may be witches and may seek to injure him in return for his enmity, so that he will curb his jealousy from fear of being bewitched.¹⁸

In relation to development, this means that those who become rich feel the pressure to redistribute their wealth among relatives. They know that if they do not do so, they may well be accused of being witches. For fear of accusations, they act charitably towards their family members, thereby ensuring that their personal wealth does not become too much.

Apart from the fear of witchcraft accusations, which discourages personal advancement, witchcraft may hinder development in a second way. In 2012, theologian David Ngong wrote: "this widespread belief in witchcraft dooms Africa to a perpetual state of penury because economic development happens where science and technology rather than belief in witchcraft are encouraged."¹⁹ According to Ngong, Africa's development is hindered by the belief in witchcraft. Because people attribute misfortune to witchcraft instead of material causes, they are not encouraged to make material improvements—such as better infrastructure or improved

¹⁸ E.E. Evans-Pritchard, "Men Bewitch Others when they Hate them," in David Hicks (ed), *Ritual and Belief: Readings in the Anthropology of Religion*, Plymouth: AltaMira Press, 2010 [1937], p. 252.

¹⁹ David T. Ngong, "Stifling the Imagination: A Critique of Anthropological and Religious Normalization of Witchcraft in Africa," in *African and Asian Studies*, 11(1-2), 2012, p. 147.

health care—that could prevent further misfortune from happening. If a child becomes ill, the belief in witchcraft leads parents to seek the help of a diviner who can return the disease to its sender, or a pastor who, through the power of God, can heal the child. The child may die, because the parents did not seek adequate medical help. In a similar fashion, when many accidents happen on the same stretch of road, this spot may be said to be bewitched, or affected by other evil spiritual forces. Strategic spiritual warfare prayers may be done to fight a terrestrial demonic spirit. This focus on non-material causes makes people overlook the dangerous potholes on that road, the inadequate road markings, or problems in seeing traffic coming from the opposite side. Not all of these material causes for road accidents are addressed if one chooses to see accidents as caused by a spiritual agency—and another chance for development is missed. The witchcraft-worldview distracts Africans from other, possibly more significant, causes of disempowerment.²⁰

If a worldview that incorporates witchcraft hinders development, what should then be done about this problem? One approach is to bet that more development or more education will eradicate the belief in witchcraft. Ngong is one of the proponents of this view. He argues that the problem should be addressed through better education, built on a Western, rational philosophy. He writes: "Critical rational and theological critiques, the development of science and technology, are some of the essential elements that are crucial in challenging this [witchcraft] imagination."²¹ With a Western-style education, that emphasizes rational, scientific thinking, the belief in witchcraft will become outdated, because people will learn that—for example—diseases are caused by biological agents or physical imperfections rather than by witches or other forms of spiritual agency. In the remainder of this chapter, I will evaluate the claims that witchcraft and development are opposites, and that education can combat the belief in witchcraft.

²⁰ See Thomas McNamara, "Development, Witchcraft, and Malawi's Elite," in *Australasian Review of African Studies*, 36(2), 2015, p. 79.

²¹ David T. Ngong, "Stifling the Imagination: A Critique of Anthropological and Religious Normalization of Witchcraft in Africa," in *African and Asian Studies*, 11(1-2), 2012, p. 178.

The Complex Relationship between Witchcraft and Modernity

Erich Leistner, a former director of the Africa Institute in South Africa, gives a succinct description of what was supposed to happen to witchcraft and development in Africa:

Witchcraft belief is commonly viewed as belonging to the outmoded worldview of primitive societies. Together with other superstitions, it is expected to fade away thanks to education, Christianity, the media—including newspapers, radio, television and the Internet via mobile phones—as well as modern living conditions in general.²²

This, as we probably all know, has not happened. Contemporary authors in the anthropology of witchcraft argue that the claim that witchcraft will disappear while Africa moves towards modernity is an example of the now rejected evolutionist perspective. Witchcraft cannot be easily juxtaposed with modernity. Witchcraft is in modernity. In other words, the fear of witchcraft does not disappear under conditions of modernity. In the city, in parliament, in hospitals and universities—which all can be described as vestiges of modernity—people speak about witchcraft and fear its powers. As Geschiere puts it: "Rumors and practices related to the occult forces abound in the more modern sectors of society."²³ Several authors state that witchcraft is on the increase—although this is hard to measure.²⁴ Talk about witchcraft definitely seems to be more out in

²² Erich Leistner, "Witchcraft and African Development," in *African Security Review*, 23(1), 2014, p. 53f.

²³ Peter Geschiere, *The Modernity of Witchcraft: Politics and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa*, Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, (1997) p. 3.

²⁴ See, for example, Filip de Boeck and Marie-Françoise Plissart, *Kinshasa. Tales of the Invisible City*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2004, p. 158; Peter Geschiere, *Witchcraft, Intimacy, and Trust: Africa in Comparison*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015, p. 2; Henrietta L. Moore and Todd Sanders, "Magical Interpretations and Material Realities: An Introduction," in Henrietta L. Moore and Todd Sanders (eds), *Magical Interpretations, Material Realities: Modernity, Witchcraft and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa*, London: Routledge, 2001, p. 2.

the open, for example, through popular newspapers recounting the stories that are shared in African rumour mills.²⁵ The current narratives about witches and other spiritual forces incorporate contemporary or modern items. Heike Behrend and Ute Luig give a number of examples from possession narratives: "We find Christian spirits named Hitler and Mussolini or King Bruce after Bruce Lee, the Kung-Fu actor, in a pantheon of new Christian holy spirits in Northern Uganda... [and] in Central Africa we find spirits of aeroplanes, engines, guitars and angels."²⁶ New or modern elements of life are thus incorporated in African imaginaries of spiritual power.

In Africa, witchcraft is a system of meaning that bears especially upon uncertainties surrounding power and inequality. If, in a context where this system of meaning is present, globalization or new inequalities caused by the workings of the global market become prominent, the discourse of witchcraft will be activated. According to Peter Geschiere: "[I]t is precisely because witchcraft addresses uncertainty that it remains the preferred discourse for interpreting modern changes."²⁷ In addition, James Kiernan states—in a quite patronizing manner:

²⁵ See Bastian Misty, "Vulture Men, Campus Cultists and Teenaged Witches: Modern Magics in Nigerian Popular Media," in Henrietta L. Moore and Todd Sanders (eds), *Magical Interpretations, Material Realities: Modernity, Witchcraft and the Occult in Postcolonial Africa*, London: Routledge, 2001, p. 71-96; Bastian Misty "Diabolical Realities: Narratives of Conspiracy, Transparency, and 'Ritual Murder' in the Nigerian Popular Print and Electronic Media," in: Harry G. West and Todd Sanders (eds), *Transparency and Conspiracy: Ethnographies of Suspicion in the New World Order*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2003, p. 65-90; and Peter Geschiere, "Witchcraft and Modernity: Thoughts about a Strange Complicity," in: James Kiernan (ed), *The Power of the Occult in Modern Africa*, Berlin: Lit, 2006, p. 45-74.

²⁶ Heike Behrend and Ute Luig, "Introduction," in Heike Behrend and Ute Luig (eds), *Spirit Possession: Modernity and Power in Africa*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999, p. xiii.

²⁷ Peter Geschiere, "Witchcraft and Modernity: Thoughts about a Strange Complicity," in: James Kiernan (ed), *The Power of the Occult in Modern Africa*, Berlin: Lit, 2006.

While the majority of Africans may lack understanding of the global market place and the politics of the nation state, they are not entirely bereft of intellectual resources for making sense of their own experience of the debilitating effects of these phenomena. For this, they have in the occult a ready-made repertoire of beliefs, ideas and techniques to give meaning to their predicament.²⁸

Witchcraft has always given meaning to misfortune and inequality. In the contemporary context, witchcraft still functions as an explanation for these human experiences, even though now global forces cause them.

Christianity plays a special role in the persistence of the belief in witchcraft. Early missionary churches on the one hand brought Africans in contact with a dualist perspective in which good and evil, God and Satan are mutually exclusive categories. On the other hand, many mission churches did not offer rituals for protection and healing for those who felt affected by forces of evil. The silence of the mainline mission churches on issues of the spirits left open a space for spiritualist and Zionist AICs and later for neo-Pentecostal churches, who did take the spirit world seriously and could offer countermeasures.²⁹ Unlike the mainline churches, neo-Pentecostal deliverance and anointing services do provide healing and protection that cannot be found in the traditional mission churches. The sustained attention to witchcraft in these churches, for example through testimonies and prayers, may give congregants the feeling that they are in control over the forces of witchcraft, but it does nothing to diminish the belief in witchcraft as such. One could even say that the emphasis placed on narratives about evil spiritual forces enforces the belief in witchcraft. In the words of Opuku Onyinah: "In spite of the rapid

²⁸ James Kiernan, "Introduction," in James Kiernan (ed), *The Power of the Occult in Modern Africa: Continuity and Innovation in the Renewal of African Cosmologies*, Berlin: LIT-Verlag, 2006, p. 4.

²⁹ Several authors have made this point in recent years. See for example Birgit Meyer, *Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity among the Ewe in Ghana*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1999; and Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "Witchcraft Accusations and Christianity in Africa," in *International Bulletin of Missionary Research*, 39(1), 2015, pp. 23-27.

growth of [these churches], by their approach, they cannot bring the African out of the fear of witchcraft and other supernatural powers."³⁰

David Ngong, a theologian who argued that witchcraft hinders development, is aware of the contemporary anthropological perspective that links modernity and witchcraft, and of trends in African Christianity that sustain the belief in witchcraft. He rejects both. According to Ngong, anthropologists normalize the belief in witchcraft by writing about it as a harmless and even functional oddity of African societies. Angrily, Ngong states:

They agree that recently there has been an intensification of witchcraft accusations in Africa but they go on to lure people to stupor by suggesting that because it is a normal way of thinking common to all people, Africans should probably not be alarmed. ... Thus, they make a phenomenon that is regarded as a dark page in European and American history to be normal in Africa.³¹

Anthropologists are not the only ones who make witchcraft to seem like a normal part of human—or at least, African—existence. Churches are to blame as well. In popular neo-Pentecostal churches, the existence of witches is accepted, and these churches claim to offer protection against the harm and misfortune they cause. Instead of critically interrogating the belief in witchcraft, neo-Pentecostal theology "baptizes it and gives it free reign."³²

However, Ngong's seemingly evolutionist perspective is problematic. Witchcraft should not be simply defined as a remnant of a traditional worldview that needs to be overcome in order to develop into a Western-style modernity. Contemporary anthropology does not justify witchcraft, but shows that the relation between witchcraft and development, or

³⁰ Opoku Onyinah, "Contemporary 'Witch Demonology' in Africa," in *International Review of Mission*, 93(370/371), 2004, p. 330-345.

³¹ David T. Ngong, "Stifling the Imagination: A Critique of Anthropological and Religious Normalization of Witchcraft in Africa," in *African and Asian Studies*, 11(1-2), 2012, p. 160.

³² *Ibid*, p. 169.

between witchcraft and modernity, is more complex than any straightforward binary indicates.

Another claim made by authors who see witchcraft as a hindrance to development, is that education is a way of overcoming this hindrance.

Why Education is no Quick Fix

Is education really the solution to addressing the problem of witchcraft? Receiving primary, secondary, or even tertiary education is not a guarantee for abandoning a worldview that contains witchcraft. My students in Zambia regularly try to convince me that witchcraft truly exists. A South African theologian, Anthony Balcomb, argues that knowledge is not a solution to the problem of witchcraft, because there are two different ways of understanding the world that do not speak to each other. Balcomb speaks of an "epistemological divide," a separation between a Western worldview based on Enlightenment philosophy and material causation on the one hand, and an African worldview involving causation through spiritual agencies on the other hand.³³

Speaking of an epistemological divide may seem to imply two worlds that do not and cannot communicate with each other. However, as we have seen, those who believe in witchcraft also live in a modern world. They use the stuff of modernity and profit from Western education. Yet, even in these circumstances, witchcraft gives meaning to events they live through. Witchcraft and education belong to two different domains of knowledge. In his book, *Did the Greeks Believe in their Myths?* the French archaeologist and historian Paul Veyne introduces the term "programmes of truth" for different discourses, each with their own standards for what is perceived as true.³⁴ These programmes of truth can co-exist, like radio stations that each transmit on their own frequency without being affected by the transmissions of other broadcasters. The individual

³³ See A.O. Balcomb, "Theological Education in South Africa and the Epistemological Divide: In Search of the African Habitus," in *Scriptura* 114(1), 2015, pp. 1-12.

³⁴ Paul Veyne, *Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths? An Essay on the Constitutive Imagination*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.

hearer of these transmissions may even receive opposite messages, and possesses the freedom to react on both messages in separate ways—for example by placing himself in the protection of God through prayer and at the same time take practical preventive measures.³⁵

Education belongs to a programme of truth, which emphasizes material causation, and value-free empirical research. Whatever happens in the world can be explained by looking at its material causes. These causes are observable and measurable through scientific methods. The world, according to this programme of truth, is a transparent place. Western education initiates learners into this programme of truth. Witchcraft, on the other hand, is a programme of truth in which spiritual, unmeasurable causes are central. Often, events are found to be caused not by an impersonal force, but by a hidden agency. To find out who caused an event, a special gift of discernment or divination is necessary. There is little transparency in this programme of truth. Behind the reality that is perceived by ordinary individuals lies a deeper, more 'real' reality. This ultimate reality needs to be revealed, rather than discovered.

Since education and witchcraft belong to two co-existing programmes of truth, one can never be used to obliterate the other. While receiving education, one is tuned in to the education programme of truth. When, on the other hand, bad things happen, the witchcraft programme of truth is activated. In most circumstances, the two programmes of truth co-exist without colliding with each other, in the same way in which radio-received transmissions from different broadcasters can be heard without letting one drown out the other. Education is not a quick fix for the problem of witchcraft, because education does not transmit on the same frequency as the witchcraft programme of truth.

Conclusion

Development is a term that can inspire hope as well as despair. Zambians dream of becoming citizens of a developed, modern Zambia; a Christian nation with Western-style education, health care, and infrastructure. In

³⁵ See Albrecht Koschorke, *Wahrheit und Erfindung. Grundzüge einer Allgemeinen Erzähltheorie*, Frankfurt: S. Fischer Verlag, 2012, p. 512.

the lived reality of many Zambians, this ideal of development remains a dream. Much has been written about the question why development is delayed in Africa. This chapter has discussed one hypothesis, namely that having a worldview that incorporates witchcraft inhibits the advent of development. Specialists in development studies as well as missiologists have advocated this idea. They argue that the belief in witchcraft sanctions equality and punishes individual advancement, and that it obscures true causes of lack in development. A way to take away this hindrance toward development is the emphasis on more education.

In response to this hypothesis, I have argued that the authors who take this position often write from a flawed evolutionist perspective that views modernity and witchcraft as two mutually exclusive opposites. However, the relation between witchcraft and modernity is more complex than that. Witchcraft is not obliterated by modernity. Rather, the witchcraft-worldview exists within an African modernity. Secondly, I have argued that education and witchcraft are part of two distinct programmes of truth that do not touch each other. Adding more to the education programme of truth has no effect on the witchcraft programme of truth. Therefore, education is not a solution for the problem of witchcraft.

Chapter 9: Philosophical and Religious Reflections on Sustainable Development Goals: Revisiting Indigenization in Zimbabwe

Chipo Hatendi, Kudzai Biri and Joyline Gwara

Introduction

The concept of sustainable development largely hinges on the development that meets the needs of the present, without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs. The concept has been subject to criticism from various scholars concerning what is to be sustained in sustainable development. On the other hand, indigenization in Zimbabwe as a programme aimed at addressing the socio-economic inequalities in the country. Against this background, this chapter is a reflection on sustainable development and indigenization in Zimbabwe from both religious and philosophical perspectives.

This is qualitative research in which we first analyze the concept of sustainable development together with indigenization in Zimbabwe. On this notion we investigate the role of religion in enhancing sustainable development. It is argued that religion plays a significant role towards sustainable social, economic, environmental and political development. Second, we analyze sustainable development and indigenization in Zimbabwe from a philosophical perspective with a view to argue for a viable home-grown ethical theory that should be incorporated towards achieving sustainable development goals. Through content analysis, we defend the thesis that an *Ubuntu* based ethic should be embraced in order to achieve sustainable development and indigenization in all facets in Zimbabwe.

Sustainable Development, towards a Definition

The idea of this chapter is to reflect philosophically on the importance of religion on sustainable development and indigenization in Zimbabwe. The focus is not to consider the influence of various religions, but on

Christianity and African Traditional Religion (ATR), and their influence on sustainable development goals and indigenization in Zimbabwe.

It is important to define and characterize sustainable development as a point of entry into the discussion. The terms *sustainable development* and *sustainable growth* have become very familiar while their meanings have remained vague. There is need, therefore, to distinguish growth from development. To grow means to increase naturally in size by the addition of material through assimilation or accretion.¹ To develop means to expand or realize the potentialities of and to bring gradually to a fuller, greater, or better state.² The concept of sustainable development was first coined in 1972 at the United Nations Conference on Human Development. It was popularized in 1987 with the release of the seminal report "Our Common Future" by the United Nation's World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), also known as the Brundtland Commission.³ Hence, the modern concept of sustainable development is derived mostly from the 1987 Brundtland Report.

Ideally, sustainable development is now understood as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.⁴ In this chapter, we adopt a holistic approach of sustainable development. Rees offers a working definition of this concept. Sustainable development is positive socio-economic change that does not undermine the ecological and social systems upon which communities and society are dependent. Its successful implementation requires integrated policy, planning and social learning processes, its political viability depends on the full support of the people it affects through their governments, their social institutions, and their private

¹ H.E. Daly, "Toward some Operational Principles of Sustainable Development," *Ecological Economics*, 2(1), 1990, pp. 1-6.

² Ibid.

³ D.A. Lertzman and H. Vredenburg, "Indigenous Peoples, Resource Extraction and Sustainable Development: An Ethical Approach," *Journal of Business Ethics*, 56(3), 2005, pp. 239-254.

⁴ Ibid.

activities.⁵ From this notion, it is clear that sustainable development ties together concern for the caring capacity of natural systems with the social, political, and economic challenges faced by humanity. However, this concept has been subject to criticism on what is to be sustained in sustainable development.

In the available surveyed literature on what is to be sustained, emphasis is placed on life support systems, nature and the community.⁶ Various scholars have argued that the meaning of this concept has been opportunistically stretched from conservation management to economic development.

Sustainable Development Goals, a Brief Discussion

The importance of SDGs has gained ground following the urgency of sustainable development across the globe. Sustainable development embraces the triple bottom line approach to human wellbeing. Most of the worlds' societies acknowledge that they aim for a combination of economic development, environmental sustainability and social inclusion.⁷ However, there is always variance between countries on the specific goals of sustainable development. The hallmark of sustainable development is a shared focus on economic, environmental and social goals.⁸ According to current literature, there was a shift from Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The shift was, because the MDGs were targets mainly for poor countries, to which rich countries were to add their solidarity and assistance through finances and technology.⁹ Against this background, the SDGs pose goals and challenges for all countries, not what the rich should do for the poor

⁵ W. Rees, "Defining 'Sustainable Development,'" *CHS Research Bulletin*, University of British Columbia: UBC Centre for Human Settlements, 1989.

⁶ R.W. Kates, T.M. Parris and A.A. Leiserowitz, "What is Sustainable Development? Goals, Indicators, Values, and Practice," *Environment*, Washington D.C.: Learning Pvt, 47 (3), 2005, pp. 8-21.

⁷ J.D. Sachs, "From Millennium Development Goals to Sustainable Development Goals," *The Lancet*, 379(9832), 2012, pp. 2206-2211.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

but what all countries together should do for the global wellbeing of this generation and those to come.¹⁰ Sachs organized the SDGs into three broad categories namely, economic development, environmental sustainability and social inclusion. From these broad categories, he discussed the SDGs as follows:

SDG 1: by 2030, if not earlier, all the world's people will have access to safe and sustainable water and sanitation, adequate nutrition, primary health services and basic infrastructure, including electricity, roads, and connectivity to the global information network.¹¹

SDG 2: from 2015 to 2030, all nations will adopt economic strategies that increasingly build on sustainable best practice technologies, appropriate market incentives, and individual responsibility. The world will move together towards low-carbon energy systems, sustainable food systems, sustainable urban areas (including resilience in the face of growing hazards), and stabilization of the world's population through the voluntary fertility choices of families supported by health services and education. Countries will adopt a pace of change during these fifteen years, individually and with global cooperation, that will enable humanity to avoid the most dangerous planetary thresholds. The world community will help low-income countries to bear the additional costs that might be entailed in the adoption of sustainable systems for energy, agriculture, and other sectors.¹²

SDG 3: every country will promote the wellbeing and capabilities of all their citizens, enabling all citizens to reach their potential, irrespective of class, gender, ethnic origin, religion, or race. Every country will monitor the wellbeing of its citizenry with improved measurements and reporting of life satisfaction. Special attention will be given to early childhood, youth, and elderly people, addressing the vulnerabilities and needs of each age cohort.¹³

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid.

SDG 4: governments at all levels will cooperate to promote sustainable development worldwide. This target includes a commitment to the rule of law, human rights, transparency, participation, inclusion, and sound economic institutions that support the private, public, and civil-society sectors in a productive and balanced manner. Power is held in trust to the people, not as a privilege of the state.¹⁴

From the above mentioned SDGs, it is noted that each goal has its specific targets to be achieved by the year 2030. It is not the object of this chapter to analyze the SDGs, focus is on reflecting philosophically the role of religion, particularly Christianity, on the SDGs together with indigenization in Zimbabwe.

Defining Indigenization in Zimbabwe

For the purposes of clarity, we first define and characterize indigenization. There is need here to look at the terms, *indigenize* and *indigenous*. To *indigenize* means subjecting to native influence and *indigenous* means originating naturally in a region.¹⁵ Canaan Dube defines indigenization as a deliberate involvement of indigenous Zimbabweans in the economic activities of the country, to which hitherto they had no access, to have an equitable ownership of the nation's resources. For him an indigenous Zimbabwean is "any person who, before 18 April 1980, was disadvantaged by unfair discrimination on the grounds of his or her race and any descendant of such person and includes any company, association, syndicate or partnership of which indigenous Zimbabweans form the majority of members or hold the controlling interest."¹⁶

Dube looks at economic empowerment as the creation of an environment, which enhances the performance of the economic activities of indigenous Zimbabweans into which they would have been introduced or

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ D. Thompson, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 9th ed., New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995.

¹⁶ C. Dube, *Zimbabwe's Indigenization Programme: The Process, the Benefits and the Challenges*, Victoria Falls: ICAZ Winter School, 2013.

involved through indigenization.¹⁷ The IEEP programme is meant to address socio-economic inequalities in the country. We note that this programme is worth embracing since before independence, Black Zimbabweans were discriminated against socially, economically and politically and extra judicial methods were used to further entrench the system of black servitude to ensure that there was a co-relation between race and wealth. To this end, we argue that indigenization is a major pillar of poverty reduction in Zimbabwe.

The Role of Religion in Sustainable Development and Indigenization in Zimbabwe

Religion plays a significant role in sustainable development. In contemporary discussions, most scholars have been reluctant to consider the influence of religion in attaining sustainable and authentic human development. Now it is important to clarify the concept *religion* since it is central to this chapter. Religion refers to identifiable communities, which base their acts of believing and their resulting communal experiences on postulated non-falsifiable alternate realities of a tradition that they legitimate by appealing to its authoritative transmission from generation to generation.¹⁸ The idea of religion broadly includes various traditional, cultural and customary institutions and practices. It includes Christianity, African Traditional Religion (ATR), Islam and many others. The aim of this chapter is not to look at the influence of religion on sustainable development in general. Instead, we give particular attention to the role of Christianity and ATR on sustainable development and indigenization in Zimbabwe. J.D. Wolfensohn, the former President of the World Bank, pointed out the significant role of religion in sustainable development. He remarked:

Religion is an omnipresent and seamless part of daily life, taking an infinitive variety of forms that are part of the distinctive quality of each community. Religion could thus not be seen as something apart and

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ L. Cox, *Introduction to Phenomenology of Religion*, New York: Continuum International Publishing Group, 2010.

personal. It is rather a dimension of life that suffuses whatever people do. Religion has an effect on many people's attitudes to everything, including such matters as savings, investment and a host of economic decisions. It influences areas we had come to see as vital for successful development, like schooling, gender equality, and approaches to health care. In short, religion could be an important driver of change, even as it could be a break to progress.¹⁹

From the above assertion, there is a realization that the religious faith of people helps to shape their view of development and their life in general. Religion provides the unifying power that grounds the socio-political, economic, technological, cultural and moral dynamics of a culture.²⁰

As a religion, Christianity promotes integral development that goes beyond mere economic globalization.²¹ In this chapter we argue that Christianity in Zimbabwe plays a significant role in the sustainable development of the country together with indigenization. In this vein, we argue that theological concepts shape worldviews and social imaginaries, which either facilitate or hinder people from primal religious cultural backgrounds to participate in sustainable socio-economic development. We also demonstrate that in Zimbabwe today, many young evangelical Christians are moving away from traditional missionary models which emphasized preaching and proselytizing to a more humanitarian and developmental model which focuses on practical activities, particularly activism and raising awareness of social justice issues. To this end, the role of Christianity in Zimbabwe on sustainable development and indigenization has been largely positive.

In most Pentecostal churches in Zimbabwe today, sustainability has become a common theme. Such Christian churches in Zimbabwe include

¹⁹ W. Tyndale, "Religions and the Millennium Development Goals," in Gerrie ter Haar (ed), *Religion and Development*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, p. 216.

²⁰ J. Ogonnaya, "Religion and Sustainable Development in Africa: The Case of Nigeria," *International Journal of African Catholicism – Political Philosophy*, Harare: Graham Publishing, 2012.

²¹ Ibid.

but are not limited to Prophetic Healing and Deliverance (PHD) Ministries led by Walter Magaya, United Family International (UFI) led by Emmanuel Makandiwa, Zimbabwe Assemblies of God in Africa (ZAOGA) and many others. These faith-based Christian groups acknowledge that economic development programmes will not be sustainable, even within their own terms of reference, unless they incorporate the spiritual as well as the cultural, political, social and environmental dimensions of life.²²

Christianity remains a reliable institution, which provides stepping-stones to sustainable development and indigenization in Zimbabwe. In the face of the weakness of the Zimbabwean state and the inefficiency of some of its institutions to provide the human good to its citizens, most Christian Churches in Zimbabwe supplement and complement government's efforts towards improving the standard of living of Zimbabweans. A Christian approach to sustainable development is anchored on two cardinal principles, responsibility and accountability towards how humans use earth's resources and the resulting impacts.²³ Christian Stewardship has two dimensions. The first dimension is responsibility, which entails using the earth's resources to God's glory.²⁴ From the parable of the talents, a second dimension of accountability is noted. Accountability implies that how we discharge our responsibility matters most. It means coming to terms with the impacts of our action or inaction.²⁵ Above all, sustainable development is holistic, encompassing the four dimensions, social, economic, ecological and political.

The relationships and inter-linkages between the four elements can be rendered intelligible in the context of the biblical idea of interdependence and the relationship between the body and its parts Paul describes in 1

²² W. Tyndale, "Religions and the Millennium Development Goals," Gerrie ter Haar (ed), *Religion and Development*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2011, p. 216.

²³ Y. Joseph, "Faith and Sustainable Development: An African Christian Perspective," *Faith, Values, and Education for Sustainable Development*, p. 6, 49.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

Corinthians 12:12-27.²⁶ Verse 26 (NIV) says, "If one part suffers, every part suffers with it; if one part is honoured, every part rejoices with it."²⁷ It becomes clear that the relationship between these four elements follows this analogy, and, therefore, we cannot afford to neglect any of the four elements if we want to achieve sustainable development in this nation.

Current literature has it that environmental degradation and climate change pose serious challenges to Africa at large and Zimbabwe in particular. Such environmental degradation and climate change can exacerbate communities' fragility in Africa and lead to the increase in resource-based conflicts, especially pertaining to water and other natural resources.²⁸ The Pentecostal churches in Zimbabwe have become increasingly aware of this, hence, they are taking steps to address these challenges. In this chapter, we have noted that most Christian churches across the nation are calling for the government to make environmentally sustainable development a priority and take necessary measures to promote adaptation and mitigation efforts. To this end, we come to the realization that Christianity in Zimbabwe is playing a vital role in informing and influencing sustainable development and indigenization policies. It therefore remains an important agent for sustainable development and indigenization in Zimbabwe.

A Philosophical Reflection on Sustainable Development and Indigenization in Zimbabwe

Our objective in this section is to reflect philosophically on sustainable development and indigenization in Zimbabwe. The aim is to give a philosophical understanding of this notion and to address the essence of enhancing sustainable development and indigenization across the nation. In philosophy, normative theories are divided into two groups, consequentialist ethical and non-consequentialist ethical theories. Ethical

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

consequentialist theories include utilitarianism and ethical non-consequentialist theories include Kantian deontology and Aristotelian virtue ethics.

However, we note that these Western theories are individualistic in nature. Thus, utilitarianism, Kantian deontology and Aristotelian virtue ethics all place an imperative on reason as the key defining feature of morality. For instance, Plato argues that the 'Highest Good' is the knowledge of the Form of the Good, which, for him, exists for the individual, the society and the state if each of these exhibits the highest virtue called justice.²⁹ It is clear that these theories emphasize the centrality of the individual when evaluating the morality of actions. Emphasis on individualism, however, does not sit well with most African cultures, Zimbabwe in particular.³⁰ Each culture is defined by its own norms, customs and traditions. Such norms, customs and traditions vary across cultures. African culture locates the morality of actions within a particular group of persons.³¹ The culture of the African society is communitarian in nature. In a communitarian culture, we note that the dignity of the community takes precedence over individual dignity.³²

The idea of individual rationality is also emphasized in these Western theories. However, in the African context, morality is a function of experience and communal rationality.³³ Against this background, we argue that western theories cannot be applied in the African communitarian culture. Instead, *Ubuntu/Hunhu*, an African homegrown theory is the most viable approach that addresses issues in the African context.

Towards Embracing Ubuntu/Hunhu on Sustainable Development and Indigenization in Zimbabwe

²⁹ F. Mangena, "Towards a 'Hunhu/Ubuntu:' Dialogical Moral Theory," *Phronimon*, 13(2), 2012, p. 1-17.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ibid.

In this section, we argue that for a positive social, economic and political sustainable development and indigenization, Zimbabwe should fully embrace *Ubuntu/Hunhu*, if ever a positive change in all sectors is to be assured. The authors of this chapter are convinced that socio-economic sustainable development and indigenization in this nation are well enshrined in *Ubuntu/Hunhu* philosophy.

What do we mean by *Ubuntu/Hunhu*? We mean that the concept of *Ubuntu* in Zimbabwe is similar to that of other African cultures. Since there are as many as three hundred linguistic groups with *-ntu* or a variation of it in the word for person, all believed to have originated from a single source, it is reasonable to suppose that these groups of the Bantu people by and large share a common concept of *Ubuntu/Hunhu*.³⁴ *Ubuntu/Hunhu* is a social philosophy that embodies virtues that celebrate the mutual social responsibility, mutual assistance, trust, sharing, unselfishness, caring, and respect for others among other ethical values.³⁵ From a philosophical perspective, the term *Hunhu* or *Ubuntu* emphasizes the importance of a group or community.

It is an ethic that calls for a particular mode of being in the world. This mode of being requires each person to maintain social justice, to be empathetic to others, to be respectful and to have a conscience.³⁶ Failure to observe these guidelines disrupts communal unity leading to disequilibrium.³⁷ It is also important to note that *Ubuntu/Hunhu* manifests itself through various human acts clearly visible in social, political and economic situations as well as within the family. It is based on the belief of

³⁴ B. Bondai, and T.M. Kaputa, "Reaffirming Ubuntu/Unhu Mainstreaming in the Education Curricula: Panacea for Sustainable Educational Change in Southern Africa," *International Journal of Academic Research and Reflection*, Progressive Academic Publishing, 2016, vol. 4(6), pp. 37- 43.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ F. Mangena and E. Chitando, "Millennium Development Goals in Zimbabwe's 'Decade of Crisis,'" *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 13(5), 201, pp. 233-245.

³⁷ Ibid.

a universal bond of sharing that connects all humanity.³⁸ *Ubuntu* as a philosophy also emphasizes our interconnectedness as human beings and our inseparability from the world in which we live.³⁹ The implication here is that other people and the environment continuously shape a person's identity. Following the stipulations of *Hunhuism* or *Ubuntu*, the human individual is inextricably linked to the all-encompassing universe. It is this all-encompassing nature of *Ubuntu* that ensures the socio-economic and environmental sustainability of a nation.

The incorporation of *Ubuntu/Hunhu* is imperative towards achieving socio-economic sustainable development and indigenization in Zimbabwe. This is because *Ubuntu* as a philosophy sets ethical standards for people's behaviour, conduct, morals, emotions, aspirations, achievements etc. In this vein, the whole idea of *Ubuntu* is not to oppress one another as its values aim at upgrading one another. The authors of this chapter defend the thesis that social and economic sustainable development and indigenization in Zimbabwe are possibly achieved and enhanced when they are founded on the premises of the *Ubuntu/Hunhu* philosophy. The justification here is that a sustainable indigenous economy in Zimbabwe requires people to uphold values such as peace, harmony, spirit of goodwill, togetherness, respect, solidarity, teamwork, unity and hard work, reconciliation, and so forth. Such values are ingrained in *Ubuntu/Hunhu*.

The significant role of African Traditional Religion (ATR) towards socio-economic sustainable development is therefore realized through *Ubuntu/Hunhu*. ATR is the historical, sacred, cultural practices of indigenous African people.⁴⁰ It is practiced on the continent of Africa and throughout the diaspora. Traditional religion in Africa is marked by a

³⁸ M.B. Ramose, "The Philosophy of 'Ubuntu' and 'Ubuntu' as a Philosophy," in P.H. Coetzee and P.J. Roux (eds), *The African Philosophy Reader*, 2003, pp. 230-238.

³⁹ O. Hapanyengwi-Chemhuru and N. Makuvaza, "Hunhu: In Search of an Indigenous Philosophy for the Zimbabwean Education System," In *Journal of Indigenous Social Development*, 3(1), 2014, p. 1-15.

⁴⁰ D.E. Thomas, *African Traditional Religion in the Modern World*, North Carolina: McFarland and Company Publishers, 2005, p. 131.

unity that binds numerous cultural groups together.⁴¹ The various definitions of *Ubuntu* cited above place it into a religious frame. *Ubuntu/Hunhu* becomes the basis of a religious expression in African societies. From this background, we note that this social philosophy is part of that which wishes to enable the human being to take responsibility for the well-being of others outside oneself.

The health and prosperity of one's family and surroundings are the most important virtues in a traditional African home.⁴² *Ubuntu* does not act alone but is part of a much more complex set of rules of life.⁴³ We admit that since religion permeates all spheres of life in African societies, *Ubuntu/Hunhu* cannot be divorced from ATR. We, therefore, discuss the vital role of ATR in Zimbabwe through *Ubuntu/Hunhu* towards socio-economic sustainable development and Indigenization.

As panacea to socio-economic sustainable development in Zimbabwe, *Ubuntu* encourages teamwork or working together referred to as *mushandirapamwe* (working together) in Shona. In our traditional Shona culture, *mushandirapamwe* could be realized through conducting activities such as *Nhimbe*. *Nhimbe* is a multifaceted concept in political, religious and economic circles. It is a concept that runs deep in the Shona culture of Zimbabwe. *Nhimbe* means people coming together and working to achieve a common goal.⁴⁴ In anthropological belief systems, the term also means collaboration. *Nhimbe* is one of the prominent social security mechanisms among the Shona, which provides support to disadvantaged and vulnerable community members in the event of exposure to risks.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² A.A. Ulvestad, *Ubuntu in African Traditional Religion*, MA, University of Oslo, 2012.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ M. Mawere and S. Awuah-Nyamekye, *Harnessing Cultural Capital for Sustainability: A Pan Africanist Perspective*, Mankon: Langa Research and Publishing CIG, 2015.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

Loosely defined, *nhimbe* is a social practice that is usually undertaken during the weeding and harvesting seasons by most ethnic groups in Zimbabwe.⁴⁶ Through this social practice, the community collaborates collectively in their agricultural activities and then later on drink traditional beer locally known as *doro/ndari*.⁴⁷ Hence, it is through *Ubuntu/Hunhu*, a way of life among the Shona that encourages social collaborative activities such as *nhimbe* to take place. As part of the ethical values ingrained in Ubuntu, *nhimbe* was a way of teaching people to cultivate a sense of an African ideal of the individual's communal responsibility. Also in view of the African traditional perspective of an individual, the individual's place in society was determined primarily by his contribution to its well-being, hence the individual had to be trained to remain sensitive to the needs of the community as a whole and others as individuals.⁴⁸ To this end, we observe that the concept of *nhimbe* as part of the African philosophy, *Ubuntu*, encourages sustainable social, economic and political development. We argue that through *Ubuntu*, if collaborative work is encouraged in all sectors of the economy, a social, economic and political transformation will be enhanced in this nation.

Since time immemorial, the values of *Ubuntu* encouraged the Shona to practice *Zunde raMambo* (the chief's common granary). The chief as a leader has to promote the welfare of his/her community and *Zunde raMambo* is one medium through which this was realized.⁴⁹ *Zunde raMambo* is the Shona phrase for the chief's vast piece of land that is communally owned.⁵⁰ People would work communally with the chief being the manager. Important to note also is the fact that the voluntary participation of members in *Zunde raMambo* enhanced the community's sense of belonging, responsibility, solidarity and identity. Upon harvesting, the produce would be put into the chief's granary for storage.⁵¹ The

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

produce would be used to help the needy in times of hunger or food shortages.

It is clear that the main objective of *Zunde raMambo* was to ensure the collective well-being of the community. It was, thus, a traditional social mechanism designed to address the contingency of drought or famine. It is our objective in this chapter to highlight that *Ubuntu* allows social practices such as *Zunde raMambo*, which act as a local social safety net for the poor and vulnerable members of the community. We argue that if and only if an *Ubuntu*-based approach is embraced in Zimbabwe, then social, economic and political transformation together with indigenization will be enhanced. Among other approaches, we concur that *Ubuntu/Hunhu* is the foundation of and panacea for sustainable socio-economic development and indigenization in Zimbabwe.

Other acclaimed scholars such as Fainos Mangena and Ezra Chitando have argued for the importance of *Ubuntu* in that the political and economic instability that gripped Zimbabwe in the last twelve years which they refer to as the 'decade of crisis' was the result of the failure by politicians to use *Ubuntu* to develop our social and economic institutions.⁵² This African indigenous ethic offers a powerful vision in social, economic and political transformation. *Ubuntu*, however, becomes a special product that helps in the realization of a nation's goals, aspirations and, most importantly, the nation's place in the world.⁵³ Looking at indigenization and sustainable development in the social, environmental, economic and political sectors in Zimbabwe, we also maintain that the people of Zimbabwe should embrace this philosophy in order to achieve positive results of these.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have examined and reflected on the significant role of religion towards socio-economic sustainable development and

⁵² F. Mangena and E. Chitando, "Millennium Development Goals in Zimbabwe's 'Decade of Crisis,'" *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 13(5), 2011, pp. 233-245.

⁵³ Ibid.

indigenization in Zimbabwe. We have argued that religion through ATR and Christianity, particularly the various Pentecostal churches in Zimbabwe, contributes to socio-economic and political sustainable development through the nurturing of the human conscience for honesty, transparency, and the common good. More importantly, its significance is realized in promoting integral development that goes beyond mere economic globalization. From a philosophical standpoint, we defended the thesis that sustainable development in all sectors and indigenization in this country will only be achieved if we embrace an *Ubuntu*-based approach. It is our contention that incorporating *Ubuntu/ Hunhu* in all spheres and in indigenization is the surest panacea for sustainable development. We argued that it is this approach that provides a powerful vision in social, economic and political transformation. The approach therefore promotes and sustains humanitarian values for the good and benefit of Zimbabwean citizens.

Chapter 10: God is Watching You

Hermen Kroesbergen

Introduction

How is religion connected with development is the focus of this chapter. One possible point of connection between religion and development is the idea that 'God is watching you.' This concept can have different consequences in people's lives. In this chapter I argue that the concept of God watching us can play two very different roles in people's lives. Most important is the fact that these two different roles are so different that they are even mutually exclusive. If you apply one way of assuming that God to be watching you, then you cannot apply the other one, and vice versa. But let me begin by highlighting how this theme relates to the theme of this book, the relationship between religion, citizenship and development.

In Southern Africa the phrase 'abundant life' has become quite popular. Sometimes it is just a code word for the 'prosperity gospel,' and sometimes it designates a moderate version of the prosperity gospel which tries to safeguard the genuine impulses of this movement while avoiding its extremist pitfalls. 'Abundant life' may represent the goal of a holistic African theology which includes the contributions of Christianity to the development of society. It is important to investigate what we can learn even from such defective approaches to the prosperity gospel by taking into account the legitimate yearnings behind it. In this study, I wish to propose, however, to speak of 'abundant living' instead of 'abundant life.' We should be looking for 'a theology of good living' instead of 'a theology of good life.'

This is because 'abundant life' or 'the good life' are goals to which we aim, whereas Christianity is in an important way not goal-directed. We should keep in mind the important contrast between development—which is by definition directed towards a goal to which one develops—and religion, which I wanted to argue should not be directed towards a goal. If we have a theology of good life, we are presupposing a goal, the

good life that we hope to reach sometime in the future. If we have a theology of good living, on the other hand, the focus is on the here and now. In other words, the living here and now should be good, whatever happens in the future. So goal-directedness and not-goal-directedness would be a major difference between development and religion.

But where do we see this difference? Somewhere where religion and development encounter one another? One such possible point of contact, as I will argue below, is the idea of God watching us. This concept illustrates both the relationship between religion and development, and the major difference between the two.

The Contrast between Religion and Development

As I said the contrast between religion and development has to do with the fact that religion is not goal-directed as development is. This can be illustrated by an analogy from Søren Kierkegaard. In his book, *Purity of Heart*, he discusses the major difference between wanting to do the good, and wanting to do something which will bring a reward.¹ Kierkegaard uses the analogy of loving a girl out of love and loving her for the sake of her money, and I think the same analogy can illustrate the sharp distinction between religion and development.

Kierkegaard begins by asking, "The question is not difficult. If a man loves a girl for the sake of her money, who will call him a lover? He does not love the girl, but the money. He is not a lover but a money-seeker."² Applying this analogy to the contrast between religion and development it would become something like: If someone tries to be a good Christian and tries to get other people to become good Christians, for the sake of the development that would bring to society, the health and wealth and prosperity, who will call him a real Christian? He is not interested in Christianity, but in a well-developed society. He is not a Christian, but a development-seeker.

¹ Søren Kierkegaard, *Purity of Heart Is to Will One Thing*, 1938, www.epubbud.com/read.php?g=2R5SJZXW&p=1&two=1.

² Ibid.

Kierkegaard continues by saying: "But if a man said, 'It is the girl I love and she has money,' and he should ask us for our judgment, for we have no particular call to judge, then a good answer would be, 'It is a difficult matter with this money. Money may have a great influence, one can easily be deceived, and it is very difficult to know oneself.'" ³ Applying this analogy again, this would become: "But if someone said, 'I am really a Christian, but Christianity just happens to bring development to society as well,' and this person should ask us for our judgment, then a good answer would be, 'It is a difficult matter with this development of society, all the benefits of health, wealth and prosperity that Christianity brings. This development may have a great influence, one can easily be deceived, and it is very difficult to know oneself.'" Maybe you genuinely believe that you really are a Christian, and that only accidentally Christianity also brings development, but do you really know yourself in this respect?"

Kierkegaard concludes his analogy by stating: "If he were really very intent on this matter he could even wish that the money was not there, just to test his love. For a true lover would say, 'The girl has only one fault, she has money.'" ⁴ Applying this analogy again to the contrast between religion and development, it would become: "If this person who thinks that he is genuinely a Christian, and that Christianity just happens to also bring development to society, but that is not the reason why he tries to be a good Christian, if this person were really very intent on this matter, then he could even or almost should even wish that the development were not there, just to test whether he really is a Christian for sake of the faith. For a true believer would say, 'Christianity has only one fault, it brings development to society.' If someone is a Christian for sake of the development that Christianity brings, then this person is not really a Christian, so if Christianity brings development to society that would be a problem in this sense that it becomes difficult to discern whether someone really is a Christian, whether one's motives are pure and in line

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

with what could be expected of a true Christian. This is the tension between Christianity and development that I wanted to reflect upon.

But are Christianity and development related as well? If a true believer would say 'Christianity has only one fault, it brings development to society,' is there really a risk that Christianity brings development? What could be the connection between Christianity and the development of society?

The Connection between Religion and Development

In 2017, the government Minister for Religious Affairs in Zambia was the guest of honour at Justo Mwale University in Lusaka. The university trains ministers for a number of Reformed and Presbyterian churches. In her speech, the government minister asked the University to help the government to bring development to the society of Zambia. And the way in which she envisioned the contribution of Justo Mwale was significant: she asked the institution specifically to teach her students ethics. When the future pastors are taught ethics, they in turn should teach their congregants ethics. In that way Justo Mwale University would contribute to the development of Zambian society, which is hindered by many vices such as corruption, violence and abuse.

The call of this minister for religious affairs brings to mind a similar call made by Nelson Mandela twenty years ago in 1997. The then president of South Africa had a meeting with religious leaders in which he reflected upon the moral state of the country. Mandela emphasized that religion has a role to play in nation-building and social development. He appealed to the religious institutions to work with the state to overcome what he called the 'spiritual malaise' which was a major cause for crime and corruption in South Africa. Mandela's appeal led to the formation of what became the Moral regeneration movement. So here again, the way in which religion is expected to contribute to the development of society is by teaching ethics.

But what does 'teaching ethics' mean? The call for teaching ethics is not restricted to Southern Africa. For example, after the publicity surrounding abuse by US soldiers of prisoners in the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq in 2003, there were many calls for more ethics training to the military

personnel. Soldiers should be taught morals. What does that mean? How would that work? How would teaching ethics contribute to the elimination of corruption, violence and abuse in Zambia, South Africa, Iraq or elsewhere? What is an ethics class supposed to do?

Teaching Ethics?

There is a problem with the obvious answer that an ethics class should teach ethics, in the sense of telling people what is morally right and wrong. It is very questionable whether people need information about that. Is giving someone who is corrupt the information that it is wrong to be corrupt what is asked for? Telling someone who is abusive that it is morally wrong to be abusive, would that be teaching him something new? Even to say that we are not giving new information, but that we are reminding people is questionable.

Look, for example, at three kinds of context in which the quest for morality may come up. First, if you find yourself in a moral dilemma, you really don't know what to do, you have to choose between two actions but both seem equally wrong (or equally good in a few common cases). You ask: what should I do? In such a case, will it help if someone gives you some moral information, or if someone reminds you of the moral rules? I do not think so. You already know the moral rules very well. The fact that you are already very much aware of the moral rules is the cause of your problem, and what you have to do will not be discovered by reminding you of the rules, which created the problem in the first place.

Second, in cases where sharp divisions on moral questions exist, we cannot say that we know the moral rules already very well, but still giving information about moral rules, or reminding someone about moral rules, is not what is asked for. Someone who is opposed to homosexuality will not be helped if someone else tries to give him the information that we should love our neighbours irrespective of sexual orientation. Likewise, someone who is of the latter view will not be helped by being reminded that Paul says that practicing homosexuality is contrary to sound doctrine. Both sides can surely be said to be in need of something, but this something is hardly more information or reminders about moral rules. They know their own moral rules, they know there are people with

opposite moral rules, more information or reminders about moral rules is not what is asked for.

Thirdly, the kind of cases that brought the minister of religious affairs in Zambia, and before her Nelson Mandela to their appeals, are still varied. Corruption, violence and abuse are hardly the result of moral dilemmas, nor are they connected to contrasting moral values. People who commit these offenses are not in need of information about moral rules either. If you teach someone who is committing corruption that corruption is bad, he will not tell you 'Oh, I did not know that, thank you for this information' and stop doing it. Someone who abuses someone else, in almost all cases, knows very well that he should not do that. He does not need to be reminded that abuse is wrong, he knows it already, but he just finds that he cannot help himself stop it. He knows the moral rules well enough, but he still does the wrong thing. Knowledge is not the problem; one just needs to behave rightly.

Knowledge in Ethics

In all of these cases, knowledge is not the problem, at least not knowledge in a direct sense. Socrates famously equaled virtue and knowledge, but in doing so, he is speaking about a particular kind of knowledge. Philosopher Rush Rhees comments: "When Socrates says that virtue is knowledge, he does not mean that it is knowledge of moral differences. His point is that you can have that without understanding. It is more a knowledge of the point of existence."⁵ It does not help someone who does the wrong thing to tell him that it is the wrong thing—most likely, he knows that already, he does not need new information, he needs to change his life. He needs the right way of living, and for that, he might need to change the way he looks at his life. Rhees interprets Socrates' statement on as follows: "If I had been able to understand the point of things, then I should have had courage."⁶ Someone may know that he should be courageous—he knows this moral rule, but still he finds himself acting cowardly. He does not need to be told that he has to have

⁵ Rush Rhees, *Moral Questions*, Basingstoke: Macmillan and New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, p. 106.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 104.

courage; he does not need to be reminded that courage is good, but he needs to understand this on a deeper level. It should no longer be just an unattainable ideal, but it should be part of how he looks at life. We can say that he needs knowledge, but it is hardly the kind of knowledge that is taught in a classroom. In an intellectual way we know the moral rules already—there is hardly ever need for teaching ethics there, but still there might be need for a kind of knowledge nonetheless. What kind of knowledge is this that is needed in ethics?

Ghanaian philosopher Kwame Anthony Appiah, in his discussion of moral revolutions throughout history, made an interesting observation about knowledge and ethics, which relates to our topic.⁷ He investigates how moral revolutions happened through these questions: why did the practice of slavery stop? Why did people stop fighting duels when they felt offended? Why did the Chinese stop the practice of binding the feet of their women in an attempt to keeping their feet as small as possible, and so on. Appiah notes that these kind of changes did not happen because people discovered new things. There was no new knowledge that brought about the change in morality.⁸ It had been known all along that Africans were people too; and that all the arguments against slavery were available centuries before the abolition. The Chinese knew very well that foot binding turned their women practically into cripples. There was no new discovery, no new knowledge. So why did these changes happen?

Moral arguments, religious arguments, rational arguments, even laws—all were already there. People had argued for a long time that duels, foot binding and slave trade were wrong, but nobody seemed to care. Until suddenly a revolution took place. How did this happen? What changed?

Appiah argues that the major change is a change in the idea of honour.⁹ Moral revolutions happen when something is seen as not only immoral, illegal, irreligious or irrational, but when it is seen as dishonorable. Everybody knew the duel, foot binding and slave trade were immoral, were

⁷ Anthony Kwame Appiah, *The Honor Code: How Moral Revolutions Happen*, New York: Norton, 2010.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

irreligious, were irrational, were even illegal, but nothing happened. Nothing happened until people started to think of these practices as dishonourable, as laughable, as a cause for shame, as ridiculous. In the case of Chinese foot binding for example, this happened when China began to see itself as part of the world community: within the world community, China would be a laughing stock if they kept on binding off the feet of their women. That would disgrace them, and so the practice died.

Appiah concludes his book by stating that if we want a moral change to happen—a moral regeneration in Mandela's phrasing—then we should not think that giving new information will do that. People know already what is immoral, illegal, irreligious or irrational. Nobody thinks that corruption is good, nobody thinks that violence is good; nobody thinks that abuse is good. That is very important. Now people need to be convinced that it is also dishonourable, that it is a cause for shame, that it might even be laughable. According to Appiah, that is the way to bring about a moral revolution.

During the abolition of slavery, different towns in Britain tried to be the first who actively supported abolition. They wanted the rest of the then world to see how progressive they were. In China foot binding stopped when China entered the world community. They became aware that others were watching them and what they did to their women. Knowing that you are being watched is important in changing in one's idea of honour; knowing that you are being watched is important in changes in one's moral outlook and behaviour.

God is Watching You

In recent years, there have been a number of studies and discussions in experimental psychology about the importance of this idea. An important impulse to this debate was given in the article by Shariff and Norenzayan, "God is Watching You: Priming God Concepts Increases Prosocial Behaviour in an Anonymous Economic Game."¹⁰ People who had been

¹⁰ Azim Shariff and Ara Norenzayan, "God is Watching you: Priming God Concepts Increases Pro-social Behaviour in an Anonymous Economic Game," in *Psychological Science*, 18/9, 2007.

subtly reminded about God turned out to be more generous and social in their behaviour. Follow-up studies confirmed these findings, although it turned out that it also worked if you told children that the imaginary Princess Alice was watching them, and students who had to leave the money that was due for their lunch turned out to be more honest when there were just some pictures of eyes around the moneybox. Norenzayan even turned the findings into a broad evolutionary theory, that the idea that the gods are watching us is what made bigger human societies possible, claiming "Watched people are nice people."¹¹ Is that true? Is the idea that God is watching us where religion can turn us into nice people, can God watching us contribute to the sought after moral regeneration and social development? I think it is important to distinguish between two ways in which the concept of 'God is watching you' can function in someone's life.

In the novel, *The Circle*, Dave Eggers investigates the idea of being watched constantly.¹² He imagines a society where cameras are everywhere and that images are streamed live on the internet. There are cameras both outside and inside, even in every bathroom and bedroom. At first that caused a lot of giggles, but if literally everyone can be seen it soon stops being interesting. It becomes as uninteresting as anything else does, and of course, nobody is watching the footage of these billions of cameras. However, it does change people's behaviour. If there is something stolen, if there is a fight, if there is an accusation of abuse or corruption, it can be checked. Nobody can get away with anything anymore, since everything is monitored. Would this create a society of higher moral standards than ours? In a way obviously yes. All crimes, theft, violence, abuse, corruption, lying, cheating—knowing that you will certainly be caught—would be greatly reduced. It surely works, but then again, does it?

The idea that 'God is watching you' can work like the cameras in *The Circle*. If you are convinced that God is watching you and you will surely be caught and punished by him, you may well behave a lot better.

¹¹ Ara Norenzayan, *Big Gods: How Religion Transformed Cooperation and Conflict*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013.

¹² Dave Eggers, *The Circle*, London: Penguin, 2014.

However, would that behaviour be moral? Alternatively, would it be prudence? This idea of God watching you turns God into a big police officer in the sky. Simone Weil comments that "obedience [to moral rules] understood in this way is not a virtue."¹³ In addition, D.Z. Phillips adds that in this case "the conformity to morality is simply a means to self-interest. On such a view, if God were to reward vice and punish virtue, the believer would switch his options. The conception of religion involved cheapens morality, and the apologetic appeals made on such a basis are themselves morally despicable."¹⁴ We would not call the behaviour of someone who follows the moral rules because he fears God's punishment and strives after God's rewards, moral behaviour. It would be selfish behaviour. He does not care about morality, God, or the people he is now treating as neighbours, but all he cares about is himself. The belief that God is watching you may lead to pro-social behaviour, as experimental psychologists try to show, but this does not necessarily mean that it leads to morally commendable behaviour.

Is there another way in which 'God is watching you' can function? Gareth Moore suggests that we talk about God in cases where we have concluded that somebody or something is responsible.¹⁵ Something is a miracle or act of God when nobody and nothing has caused it. In Matthew 6 Jesus explains that God is the one who rewards you when nobody rewards you. Moreover, if you are looking for God and you find an object or a person, then you can be sure that you have not found God, for God is not a thing and not somebody. In line with Moore's reasoning we can say that, if you feel that 'somebody' is watching you, that is it not God who is watching you—God is the one who watches you when nobody watches you.

¹³ Simone Weil, *Lectures on Philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, p. 171.

¹⁴ D.Z. Phillips, "Dislocating the Soul," in: D.Z. Phillips (ed), *Can Religion be Explained Away?* New York: St. Martins, 1996, p. 244.

¹⁵ Gareth Moore, "Tradition, Authority and the Hiddenness of God," in: Mario von der Ruhr and Timothy Tessin (eds), *Philosophy and the Grammar of Religious Belief*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995.

If you do a good deed, you can do that for many reasons. Let us say you give something to a beggar. You can do that because you want him to thank you—he should see you. You can do it because you want others to see what a generous person you are. Maybe you want to show your deceased grandfather or your ex-girlfriend that you have become a good person. Maybe you want to see yourself doing a good deed because it gives you a good feeling. Maybe you do it so God sees it and will send you to heaven later on. Nevertheless, giving something to a beggar can only be a morally good if you don't do it for any of these reasons. It is only genuinely good, if you do not do it because of what it brings you. Your only aim should be to help this man. There should be no aims outside this, not even God should be your aim, as the medieval mystic Meister Eckhart who is quoted by Moore, says: "Indeed I say that if you make God your aim, whatever works you do for this reason are all dead and you will spoil good works, and not only will you spoil good works, but you will commit sin."¹⁶

Conclusion

People need to obey moral rules not because someone is watching you, since then your behaviour would not be truly moral. You should not even obey moral rules because somebody named God, who will reward you later, is watching you. Nevertheless, moral rules you obey while nobody is watching you, and that nobody is watching you can be expressed by saying that God is watching you. In this way the religious idea that God is watching you may contribute to moral behaviour, it may be the expression of moral behaviour, but whether this moral behaviour leads to a positive development of society, we do not know, and we cannot know in principle by definition, since once we start looking at the results, we have stepped outside of the second concept of 'God is watching you', which I would hold is the religious and the moral one.

¹⁶ Eckhart Meister, *The Life: Selected Sermons and Treaties*, New York: Revelation-Insight, 2016.

Chapter 11: Religious Communities, FBOs and the Sustainable Development Goals Agenda: Crucial Religious Actors and Assets for Achieving Core Goals

Jairos Hlatywayo

Introduction

The United Nations General Assembly met on 25 September 2015 and adopted the new set of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) which aims to end poverty by the year 2030, especially on the African continent. Prior to this assembly, the global community had proposed the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which sought to eradicate poverty by the year 2015, but all was in vain and various excuses were given. In the world today, the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen. The poor are not only economically exploited but have their dignity compromised as well. There is high demand in the dynamics of leadership and the Christian churches need well-resourced and equipped leaders who can meet the needs of their congregational communities. One such overbearing challenge of churches in Africa is that of endemic dehumanizing poverty among the majority of the faithful in the church congregations. The All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC) and its Faith Based Organization (FBOs) *Partners Across the Continent* is committed to addressing this matter through contextual critical reflections that focus on the use of theology as a tool to overcome poverty. A change in the mind set of young theologians, theological educators and congregational pastors will be critical in realizing this mandate. Poverty is a human creation; hence, human beings can eradicate it if they choose to. Unless each member country of the United Nations makes deliberate efforts to abolish systems that create poverty and the demonic culture of corruption, the agenda to eradicate poverty by 2030 will remain an illusion. The lives of millions of children, women and men across the globe will continue to languish in extreme poverty if the current SDGs are not well implemented. It is from this background that this chapter seeks to identify the

crucial and relevant religious leaders who can implement the core goals of the SDG's agenda by 2030.

Modern Theories of Development Redefined

Hiagbe contends that modern theories of development revolve around the term 'progress' by which is implied a movement from the past towards the future or towards new ways of doing things.¹ Regarded as modernization, development then becomes a process of updating older and inadequate traditional ways to modern trends and a means to 'catch up' with the developed world. Often, the process of development in this model consists in shifting people from subsistence, traditional, rural mode of life to the urban, modern, and industrial; resulting in the surrender of long established and cherished cultural norms and values of communities as has been the case in much of Africa. FBOs have been making positive contributions towards poverty alleviation and have been remarkably effective in societies where religion is predominant. Citizens often had better relate to the moral and altruistic nexus fostered by these organizations. Mahmood and Mohamed argue that the grandeur of government institutions and the language of secular donor agencies and Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) are often uncoordinated with local exigencies, and reinforce a sense of alienation of values and language.² FBOs are concerned with human values that are enshrined in social justice and meet both spiritual and development needs. Spirituality and faith perspectives tend to be absent from the work of secular organizations and their emphasis is on numbers, data and statistics rather than on the more human elements that individuals can understand. The moral and cultural proximity FBOs represent in the communities they serve puts them at a distinct advantage over other CSOs in ensuring sustainable change. This momentous affiliation between citizens and the local mobilization of resources through faith-based civil society is becoming ever more visible and significant to donors and stakeholders. Further, Mahmood and

¹ Komi A. Hiagbe, "The Church and Sustainable Development in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Studia Historica Ecclesiasticae*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2015.

² S. Mahmood and A. Mohamed, Policy and Research Coordinator and CEOs at the Islamic Relief Worldwide, 2016.

Mohamed hold that, for the past decade, increased engagement is being witnessed between FBOs and the donor communities to harness resources for development and, in the context of religious FBOs, to explore the potential of religious financing to support the SDGs.³ The religious finance sector has progressed rapidly with growing integration into the global economy. Most religious economic principles emanate from the notion of unity and social responsibility consistent with values of goodness that serve humanity, underlining rights and obligations of individuals towards each other, in contrast to a system that promotes a self-centred or commercial approach tailored towards personal gain and profit maximization. However, the sector remains niche, failing so far to substantially fulfil social targets. Its impact on the SDGs will be limited unless broader goals of FBOs are aligned into the process including issues of access of poor communities to finance. Religious finance has a critical role to play in promoting the resilience of the financial system as it offers ethical financial solutions to meet socially responsible objectives.

Postmodern Understanding of Development

Hiagbe further argues that in postmodern terms, development is a people-centred process, it emphasizes the development of individuals and 'communities' rather than 'nations,' the micro, instead of the macro.⁴ This approach seeks to involve local communities in the process of development at all levels. It is with this understanding of development that Speckmann suggests that the African concept of development is understood as '*phuhla*', a Sesotho word that means 'to come out clearly' or 'getting to the very being of a thing.'⁵ In development thought, that will be to draw out the real person, making the total man evident. The Shona and Ndebele of Zimbabwe use '*kubudirira*' and '*mpemelelo*' respectively to connote the same idea. Development understood in this way is, therefore, to bring out the full potentials of everyone, and indeed, the community at

³ Ibid.

⁴ Komi A. Hiagbe, "The Church and Sustainable Development in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Studia Historica Ecclesiasticae*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2015.

⁵ M.T. Speckmann, *The Bible and Human Development in Africa*, Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 2001.

large through its deeply embedded traditions, values and norms.⁶ This understanding of African communities translates the word development as 'progress' or moving forward, which invariably endorses the idea of moving on from the traditional to modern modes of life. In other words, development to the African is not only about good roads, schools and hospitals but about giving everyone his or her rightful place in the society as well. African Christian theology must find ways of interpreting and integrating the traditional African understanding of selfhood as models of development which seek to fully 'bring out' the individual and his/her community

Underdevelopment of Sub-Saharan Africa

Towards the end of the 20th century, the World Bank had predicted a general fall in the incidence of poverty across the globe except for sub-Saharan Africa. Whereas the global incidence of poverty in the developing world was to fall from 33 to 18%, that of sub-Saharan Africa was predicted to rise from 180 million to 265 million between 1985 and 2000 constituting a rise from 16% to 32%.⁷ The African situation was predicted to regress further to 405 million by 2015. As was to be expected, the reality is not far from the prediction; indeed, 395 million Africans, constituting 30% of the continent's population, now live below the stipulated poverty line of \$1.25 a day.⁸ The question then is; why do the nations of Africa seem to be doing rather abysmally economically when other regions, including some in the South, seem to be making progress? Secondly, what role(s) can FBOs play to curb the trend of economic regression in Africa?

Coleson suggests five main reasons why the nations of Africa have remained under-developed, so that a third of Africa's population remains in extreme poverty: chronically hungry; unable to access health care; lacking the amenities of safe drinking water and sanitation; being unable

⁶ Komi A. Hiagbe, "The Church and Sustainable Development in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Studia Historica Ecclesiastica*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2015.

⁷ UNDP 2013, "Human Development Report," www.hdrundp.org/en/reports/global/hdr, [12.7.2017].

⁸ Ibid.

to afford education for some or all of their children; and perhaps lacking rudimentary shelter and clothing when for some reason, the economies of the west have been able, at least temporarily, to supply the masses with an unbelievably high standard of living as compared with the rest of the world.⁹ The reasons cited are: (i) the people's aversion to work; (ii) the complete in-built 'backwardness' in some native cultures; (iii) superstition; (iv) communalism; and (v) corruption. There is no doubt that the degree to which these elements are found among a people would determine the extent of their progress at efforts of social advancement. Whereas each of the above has had its toll on Africa's attempt at social and economic advancement, the roles of external factors cannot be overruled. The West did play and is still playing very significant roles in Africa's under-development. According to Sachs, the scars of three centuries of slave trade, followed by a century of brutal colonial rule and the general disruptions imposed by the West on Africa, are still very visible along the borders of independent Africa, 'dividing ethnic groups, ecosystems, watersheds, and resource deposits in arbitrary ways.'¹⁰ Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the newly independent states of the continent became pawns in the hands of the super-powers during the cold war. There are also the issues of structural adjustment programmes by the IMF and the World Bank of the 1980s, the effects of trade liberalization policies of the World Trade Organization on the poor of Africa, which have generally compounded Africa's economic woes in present times. These, coupled with the numerous incidences of massive droughts, the devastating effects of malaria, tuberculosis, and in recent times the scourge of HIV/AIDS, have effectively contributed to sub-Saharan Africa's under-development.¹¹ Thus, for over 500 years, Africa has been directly entangled with the ramifications of constant social disruptions. Ironically, there are other countries or regions, which have had experiences like those of Africa over the years and yet have recorded admirable economic

⁹ E. Coleson, "Weber Revisited: The Reformation and Economic Development Today," *FidHis4*, Spring, 1971.

¹⁰ J. Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Prospects of our Time*, New York: The Penguin Press, 2005.

¹¹ UNDP 2013, Human Development Report, www.hdrundp.org/en/reports/global/hdr, [12.7.2017].

gains. For example, on colonialism as an inhibition to Africa's development, comparison can be made with countries such as Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea and Taiwan, which were once colonies of Great Britain or Japan; yet they have moved on to experience tremendous economic success in the last half century.

Another example is the issue of corruption. As Sachs points out, the claim that Africa's corruption is the basic source of the problem does not withstand practical experience or serious scrutiny.¹² During the past decade, relatively well governed countries in Africa such as Ghana, Malawi, Mali, and Senegal, failed to prosper, whereas societies in Asia perceived to have extensive corruption, such as Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, and Pakistan, enjoyed rapid economic growth. The subjects of work ethics, world-view, superstition, communalism and corruption are all pertinent to the mission of the church. The Bible, as the single most important guide to the Christian faith and from which most African Christians expect answers to the gnawing questions of daily living, has so much to say about each of these subjects. In this chapter, I argue that, together with the traditional African position on each of the above subjects, we may apply Christian religious principles to constitute the basis for the formulation of a framework for the FBOs' response to poverty and under-development in Africa.

The Reformers and Socio-economic Development

The role of religious faith in social and economic development is the contribution of the Protestant Reformation, particularly its Calvinist brand, to the development of the Western world. Notable among others is its extension of the frontiers of the meaning of the term '*vocare*', to include not only eternal engagements but temporal ones as well. Rendered in German, for instance, as '*Beruf*', the term came to signify the valuation of the fulfilment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form, which the moral activity of the individual could assume. Thus, giving everyday worldly activity religious significance, which would presumably become the underpin of German work-ethics and that of the Puritans

¹² J. Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Prospects of our Time*, New York: Penguin Press, 2005.

of 17th and 18th century Northern Europe and North America. Calvin's personal involvement in the social and economic life of his 16th century Geneva in defence of 'the interests of the weak and the poor in his concept of a socially responsible economy' had a direct impact on the phenomenal social change that followed.¹³ Moreover, Calvin's theological reflections on creation, God's endowment of special talents for social and economic life as part of his created gifts to all humanity, stewardship, calling or vocation, and his encouragement of a five per cent interest on loans against the prevailing teachings of the church on usury, did not only address immediate concerns within the church in Geneva, but also provided principles for the practical expression of faith in the city and elsewhere.¹⁴

Faith based organizations are seen to be more representative of the communities in which they operate and perform the role of a conduit between communities and state actors; bold enough to give judgement on sensitive matters of faith and providing a parallel and informal system of governance. They have been able to efficiently respond to people's needs, harbouring and imparting the same value system as the communities they serve. In so doing they have over time built their credibility in delivering on education, health, welfare, disaster relief and achieving progressive social change in general. This fiduciary relationship better positions them to mobilize funds through faith-inspired incentives. The stage has been set for all stakeholders to integrate and harness the wisdom, innovation and economic power of religious systems of finance, social investment and redistribution to traverse new opportunities for development. Actors must now work together instead of competing with one another on a resilient approach to mobilize funding.¹⁵

Africa's response to the Christian faith has been phenomenal, especially from the second half of the 20th century when membership of the Christian community rose from about 60 million in 1960 to 300 million in

¹³ K. Hiagbe, *Reconciled to Reconcile: An African View of John Calvin's Doctrine of Salvation*, Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2008.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ S. Mahmood and A. Mohamed, *Policy and Research Coordinator and CEO at the Islamic Relief Worldwide*, 2016.

2001.¹⁶ As to why these impressive figures do not reflect commensurate levels of development, if indeed faith does impact development as we have amply demonstrated above, an apt response is the succinct assertion of Musonda that: "The church in Africa has been encouraged for too long to think that its role is to save souls and not bodies."¹⁷ The time has come for it to rethink its role. Owing to its Pietistic origins, much of the church in sub-Saharan Africa has been more 'other-worldly' than 'this-worldly.' Although the trend is changing in recent times, it is unfortunately to the other extreme where through the 'Prosperity Gospel' the end goal of faith is understood as material gain and the God of faith is deemed a utilitarian God whose main interest is the temporal comfort of the faithful.¹⁸ Because of the high currency of this gospel in sub-Saharan Africa, the faithful in the region have been encouraged to participate in the global economy mainly as consumers and not as producers of wealth. Further, Mugambi argues that what the church in the region has missed is that theology in which the apparently mundane issues of life, such as food for the hungry, economic and social justice for the downtrodden, stewardship of God's gifts and talents, are intricately interwoven with the fundamental doctrines of faith; a theology in which social and economic issues are not addenda to the Christian mandate but part and parcel of the Mission of God (*Missio Dei*).¹⁹

As Banglis rightly points out, issues of attitude to work and resource management, which are basic to man's cultural mandate, underpin Africa's under-development, and unless these are tackled head-on, any attempt at development in Africa will remain a mirage.²⁰ The church by its claims of divine mandate and its ubiquity in sub-Saharan Africa is very well placed to tackle these and other issues of superstition, communalism and corruption mentioned earlier as some of the internal causes of

¹⁶ J.N.K. Mugambi, *Responsible Leadership*, Nairobi: Acton Press, 2002.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ W.R. Banglis, "The Gospel of Work in Proverbs 6: 6-11 and its Relevance to Poverty Eradication in Africa," *Ogbomoso Journal of Theology*, vol. 24, 2009.

Africa's endemic under-development. This imperative calls for a cultural reconstruction aimed at the evolution of an authentic African personality in which faith is a significant part of selfhood and embraces all aspects of life. It has been suggested that a major reason for the phenomenal response of sub-Saharan Africa to the Christian faith in the last century has been the latter's close relations with Western education during the colonial and post-colonial era. Conversion to the Christian faith was imperative to the acquisition of Western education, which was and still is perceived as necessary for a comfortable life-style. Many parents would send their wards to school purposely to acquire Western education, knowing very well the underlying transformation in orientation and values that is related to the conversion from traditional religion to Christianity. The church obviously took advantage of the colonial support to run its schools all over the sub-continent, which have immensely contributed to the workforce needs of African nation states both before and after independence from the respective colonial masters. Education or trained intelligence is estimated to constitute as much as 60 per cent of development. The core of the cultural reconstruction effort must therefore focus on education; especially that of a skilled high-level work force for value-driven leadership which the African church is very well placed to execute, since it already has the educational infrastructure in much of Sub-Saharan Africa.

The suggestion is not for a total overhaul of existing educational systems, but as Ellis and ter Haar have rightly pointed out: 'what is required is to consider what elements of traditional thought, characteristically expressed in a religious or spiritual idiom ... might usefully be adapted for development purposes.'²¹ The principle can be replicated in every area of human endeavour pertinent to social and economic development of the African continent. Apart from theological reflections and education cited above, Ellis and ter Haar have extensively discussed the role of religion in conflict resolution and peace building, governance, wealth creation

²¹ S. Ellis and Gerrie ter Haar, "The Role of Religion in Development: Towards a New Relationship between the European Union and Africa," www.isites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic7201.files, [12.7.2017].

and production, and health in the African continent.²² In their view, religion has affected and continues to very significantly influence these areas in African communities. They therefore strongly advocate that the development community seriously take into consideration the people's religious thoughts on matters related to these and other areas of human endeavour when formulating policies for Africa. The onus, however, must not only rest with the international development community. On the one hand, it behooves African states and institutions to involve their religious bodies in policy formulation and implementation if they value the religious inclinations of their citizenry. On the other hand, the religious bodies such as AACC and National Christian Councils must directly engage themselves with development issues. When the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) were launched in 2000, one wondered what role was expected of the religious institutions across Africa, for example, and to what extent the religious institutions on the continent involved themselves towards the realization of the goals.²³ The question is whether much more would not have been achieved with the involvement of the religious institutions.

Conclusion

For Calvin, there was no doubt that the word of God was directed at human beings as whole persons, in their present and future lives, in their souls and in their bodies, in their material and personal selves and likewise in their lives in society. When God speaks, he meets the individual in his or her total existence, present and future. The entire secular world becomes sacred; nothing escapes the plan, the judgment or the love of God. A principal strength of Calvin's ministry in both Geneva and Strasbourg was the establishment of the diaconate and the elevation of social services to the level of the ecclesiastical ministries. Protestant social action was never confined to aid; it perceived human beings for whom the

²² Ibid.

²³ For a local case study see: Fanuel Magangani, *The Church and Millennium Development Goals: An Investigation into the Response of the Anglican Diocese of Northern Malawi to the Millennium Development Goals on Likoma Island*, *Mzuni Documents*, no. 275, 2009.

gospel was meant as wholes, as spiritual and material beings. Thus, the reformers were constantly concerned with training the population in general for a calling (for instance, in weaving, gold and silversmithing, watchmaking, textiles) in their bid to make religion an integral component of every facet of society. Development cannot take place devoid of culture; and since religion is the nexus of culture, there cannot be any meaningful development on the continent without serious recourse to the religious beliefs and practices of the people. This, in my view, is what has eluded the development community. The way forward for social and economic development in sub-Saharan Africa may be backwards, *sankofa*; a deliberate and systematic reconstruction of the past as grounds for future development.²⁴ To say this is not to suggest the resurrection of dead endogamous beliefs and practices as a means of attaining a *nirvana*; rather, a critical and systematic reconstruction, which is not oblivious of the present scientific and technological frontiers as part of our cultures. Mugambi holds that instead of continuing as mere recipients or conduits for development aid, the church in Africa needs to bring itself into the centre-stage of the development agenda of the continent as part of its cultural mandate to ensure in its membership hard work, discipline, saving and a culture of investment towards the future.²⁵ This is not to suggest that the church should abandon her three-fold mission; the *kerygma* must continue unabated, *koinonia* in earnest, but *diakonia* redefined as development with the church as mediator of the African *phuhla*. With the African church in the saddle of development, we can share in the enthusiasm of Sachs that 'Today we can declare that extreme poverty can be ended not in the time of our grandchildren, but in our time.'²⁶

²⁴ J.N.K. Mugambi, *Responsible Leadership*, Nairobi: Acton Press, 2002.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ J. Sachs, *The End of Poverty: Economic Prospects of our Time*, New York: The Penguin Press, 2005.

Chapter 12: "Let the Children Come:" A Theological Reflection on Jesus' Call for Children's Development Agenda in Zambia

Lameck Banda

Introduction

The term 'development' has a complex and multi-divergent meaning. Stoesz negates the notion that development is urbanization, industrialization, modernization, or westernization.¹ On a general scale, one would refer 'development' to the process of economic and social transformation. It encompasses holistic growth and maturity in the socio-economic, political, spiritual and religious dimensions of the human existence. Development is a process by which people within a given society come to realize the full potential of every human life, and, therefore, it aims at harnessing the potentialities in all members for the transformation of everyone in the society. We can construe that the core issue in development is the pursuit of transformation for the better.² In this chapter, we understand development as a process of change that is intended to lead to the betterment of people.³ Therefore, my working definition of development is a process of holistic transformation that is inclusive of children's welfare and quality of life within the Zambian society.

¹ E. Stoesz, *Thoughts on Development*, Development Monograph Series 1, 1977, pp. 2-3.

² Robert Potter et al (ed), *Geographies of Development: An Introduction to Development Studies*, London: Pearson, 2008.

³ M. Arruda, (ed), "Transnational Corporations, Technology and Human Development: Report on the Third Meeting of the Advisory Group on Economic Matters, Held in Rome, Italy, October 15-19, 1980," Geneva: Commission on the Churches' Participation in Development, World Council of Churches, 1981.

'Development' is not necessarily a biblical term, but the ideas of growth, change or transformation seem to occupy space in the Bible.⁴ It is with this understanding that the chapter proposes that children should not be placed on the periphery of the human development agenda, because children are equally loved and embraced by God, and therefore have the right to human development and wholeness. Hence, a textual exegetical analysis of Jesus' call in Matthew 19:13-15 is taken as a premise for such a hypothetical argument and as a theological case for children's transformative development agenda in Zambia. To achieve this, the chapter meanders along the following structure: an exploration of the United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child*; a general spectrum of children's plight in Zambia; an exegetical analysis of Jesus' call as echoed in Matthew 19:13-15; and a proposed theological and ethical model for children's development agenda in Zambia.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

The United Nations' *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC) is the first legally binding international instrument to incorporate the full range of human rights such as civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights.⁵ The UNCRC was considered by world leaders on 20th November, 1989 due to the growing need for special care and protection of people under 18 years old, and to ensure that the world recognized the rights for children. The Convention was later ratified by State Parties to be the most accepted standard on children's rights in the world.

⁴ D. Brewster, *Child, Church and Mission: A Resource Book for Christian Child Development Workers*, Makati City, Philippines: Church Strengthening Ministry, 2005, p. 13.

⁵ The full details about the United Nations Convention on Rights of the Child are found on the following websites: www.unicef.org/crc/index_30160.html [3.5.2017]; www.unicef.org/crc/index_73547.html [3.5.2017]; www.unicef.org/crc/index_protocols.html [3.5.2017]; www.unicef.org/crc/index_action.html, [3.5.2017]; and www.unicef.org/rightsite/files/uncrcchildfriendlylanguage.pdf, [3.5.2017]. Enhancing protection, care, and security, especially for the most vulnerable is UNICEF's responsibility and priority.

Generally, a 'child' may simply be referred to as a young immature human being.⁶ The UNCRC specifically defines a 'child' as a person under 18 years of age. It also acknowledges the primary role of parents, family and state in the care, protection and obligation towards children as enshrined in the 'Child's Rights.' The Convention further describes 'Child's Rights' as things every child should have or be able to do. Child's Rights can also be thought of in terms of what is the best for children and critical to life and protection from harm in a given situation.

The Convention consists of 41 articles, not ranked in order of importance, but interacting with one another to form one integrated important set of rights. The articles can be grouped together under the following four themes: The first is *survival rights*, which include the child's right to life and the needs that are most basic to existence, such as nutrition, shelter, adequate living standards, and access to medical services. The second theme is *development rights*, which include the right to education, play, leisure, cultural activities, and access to information and freedom of thought, conscience and religion. The third one is *protection rights*, which ensure that children are safeguarded against all forms of abuse, neglect and exploitation, including special care for refugee children, safeguards for children in the criminal justice system, protection for children in employment, protection and rehabilitation for children who have suffered exploitation or abuse of any kind. Lastly, the *participation rights* encompass children's freedom to express opinions, to have a say in matters affecting their own lives, to join associations and to assemble peacefully in society as part of preparation for adulthood.

There are four general principles that are emphasized to underpin all children's rights: Article 2 talks about *non-discrimination*, which means that all children have the same right to develop their potential in all situations and at all times. For example, every child should have equal access to education regardless of the child's gender, race, ethnicity, nationality, religion, disability, parentage, sexual orientation or other status. Article 3 stresses that *the best interests of the child* must be 'a primary consideration' in all actions and decisions concerning a child, and must be used to

⁶ Webster's Universal English Dictionary, New Lanark, Scotland: Geddes & Grosset, 2004, p. 54.

resolve conflicts between different rights. For example, when making national budgetary decisions affecting children, Government must consider how cuts will impact on the best interests of the child. Article 6 is about *the right to survival and development* which underscores the importance of ensuring access to basic services and to equality of opportunity for children to achieve their full development. For example, a child with a disability should have effective access to education and health care to achieve their full potential. Lastly, article 12 focuses on *the views of the child* which entail that the voice of the child must be heard and respected in all matters concerning his or her rights. For example, those in power should consult children before making decisions that will affect them.

The UNCRC forms the bedrock for transformative development in Zambia that is inclusive of children and their rights. Unfortunately, the Zambian situation presents an unpleasant picture. Hence, a general survey of the children's plight in Zambia is worth consideration at this point.

Children's Plight in Zambia

The plight of children is a global phenomenon, though the Zambian state of affairs appears to be contextually unique in nature. Couture describes the plight of children in the world as lives being "shaped by multiple kind of poverties."⁷ In the Zambian context, many of these poverties border on social and economic injustices, which manifest in children's experiences of street, prison, domestic, maid and early marriage life, and some promises of hope for a better life. Therefore, we now illustrate children's plight with three sampled categories of voices in Zambia,⁸ whose names have been withheld.

The first category of voices concerns children's experience of street life:

⁷ P.D. Couture, *Seeing Children, Seeing God: A Practical Theology of Children and Poverty*, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2002, p. 25.

⁸ These voices have been edited and altered to accommodate the limited space, while conveying the obtaining reality in Zambia.

First Voice ⁹	Second Voice ¹⁰	Third Voice ¹¹
Children are on street corners, either drinking alcohol or begging for food or money and doing whatever it is they scrounge to stay alive. Yet very little or nothing has been done to help them improve their quality of life. These children face dangers such as human trafficking, exploitation, sex work, stigmatized and sexual molestation. They are on the streets due to running away from home, mistreatment, neglect, crumbling of extended family support systems and changing of social values, traditions and society mindset.	Children are the most valuable and precious gifts given by the Almighty God. Yet some children are either orphans or their families are less privileged such that some are vulnerable and street kids against their wishes. Every day we see children begging for as little as 50 Ngwee, and we look at them as criminals. For various reasons such as divorce or death of either parent, the number increases daily. The problem is real. The same street kids can turn into criminals and the circumstances can retard any serious development.	Zambia treats its helpless, vulnerable children like stray dogs, rummaging through garbage dumps. Hundreds of thousands of them beg or are homeless, scrounge for a living in the streets, and have no parents or support of any kind. There are many sick children who don't receive any medical attention and are illiterate. The state allocates inadequate services and resources to meet children's and families' needs. Government reforms do not translate into improved service delivery to assist children.

The second category of voices concerns children's experience of life in prison, as domestic maids and in early marriages:

⁹ www.daily-mail.co.zm/plight-street-children-child-writers-take[5.7.2017]

¹⁰ www.daily-mail.co.zm/plight-less-privileged-children [5.7.2017]

¹¹ www.cyc-net.org/features/ft-Zambia'schildren.html [5.7.2017]

First Voice ¹²	Second Voice ¹³	Third Voice ¹⁴
Prisons in Zambia can be devastating and a mental torture. Reports of children either born or living with their mothers serving sentences in prisons are not only sad, but disheartening. These circumstantial children are subjected to harsh conditions of sleeping on the floor, not having adequate clothing and necessities such as formula milk and nappies, and are exposed to adults' indecency. Worse still, such children are not catered for on food rations, ending up sharing the dry food with their mothers.	<i>For</i> the last two years, a 13-year-old girl has been working for a five-member family in Lusaka's Chawama Township as a live-in maid. Her routine work includes sweeping the three-bedroomed house, cooking as well as washing plates and clothes for all the family members. She also has to prepare three children for school every morning. She was exposed to such harsh conditions because of her parents' and relatives' poverty. Her earnings are partly spent on her family's needs such as food and clothing.	A 16 year young woman ran away from her husband's house, after enduring a two year loveless marriage. She ran to her sister with a view of continuing her education from grade 9 where she had stopped after failing exams and being dragged into a marriage against her will. However, her parents and relatives organized transport for her to go back to her middle-aged husband, a successful farmer with three other wives, who supported her parents financially. She felt trapped in a marital prison.

The third category of voices concerns children's experience of promises of hope:

¹² www.times.co.zm/?p=9643 [5.7.2017].

¹³ <http://allafrica.com/stories/200409270129.html> [5.7.2017].

¹⁴ www.times.co.zm/?p=51004 [5.7.2017].

First Voice ¹⁵	Second Voice ¹⁶
I was quite intrigued to read about the plight of the Zambian youth. Hailing from Zambia myself, I am very aware of the hardships these children face and how they have to struggle just to make ends meet. In this vein, I am stepping up to the plate to contribute, even if it will be in a small way, to help Zambian youth but mainly those with special needs who I believe "have been left behind." The youth in Zambia need resources for success but those with debilitating disabilities struggle even more.	In a village, located 24 km from Lusaka, a newly constructed nursery school was opened. The children were very happy because they were going to be accorded a chance to have early childhood training. Many children in most rural Zambia miss out on their childhood because they are sidelined in the provision of services such as education. Early childhood training is very cardinal and deprivation at this stage can have serious repercussions on the development of the child.

The above voices not only explain the plight of children in Zambia, but also seek to reveal how children are denied their God-given rights, either directly or indirectly. Many of Zambia's children are in great need of protection from risk and harm that threaten their rights and undermine their well-being.¹⁷ The Zambian scenario can be summed up as that of exploitation, neglect, death, and suffering from poverty due to various aspects: notably, high cost of living, education and health services emanating from global market forces and other domestic factors; street life which gives birth to homelessness, sexual abuse, prostitution, child pornography, and survival through begging or scavenging; child labour, trafficking and early marriages which compromise the children's intellectual, physical and psychological development and moral well-being;

¹⁵ www.voicesofyouth.org/en/posts/the-plight-of-zambian-children-with-special-needs [5.7.2017].

¹⁶ www.zambiahope.org/ZHI_Takes_Hope_to_Mutakwa_Village.htm, [5.7.2017].

¹⁷ See the following website for the right and well-being of children in Zambia: www.unicef.org/zambia/children_5153.html, [3.5.2017].

inhuman and vulnerable social conditions; and political violence which manifests in maiming, assault or even killing of opponents for political interests.¹⁸ The poem below of a fourteen year old child (name withheld) who was later killed by her stepfather, can also be likened to the experiences and cries of many children in Zambia:

I live my life in shadows of darkness
 Behind the light, and full of sadness.
 Where owls would howl, and stars would shine,
 I worked all day from 9 to 9.
 Sent to accomplish forbidden deeds
 None of which I could succeed.
 At night I sleep on cold, hard floor
 With thin paper blankets near open doors.
 Each day I pray to the Lord above
 To give me faith, hope and love.
 And someday he shall set me free
 From all the pain that lives in me.¹⁹

This poem reveals some realities which relate to the Zambian context such as children's exposure to poverty, deprivation, neglect and lack of parental care, nurture and protection, violence, disrespect, street life, sexual abuse, defilement, and suffering.

Children rightfully deserve to enjoy the rights as enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. But the plight of children in Zambia undermines their rights and the quest for transformative development. All the vices affecting children add up to misery and suffering among children on a massive scale, hurting children whom God loves and embraces in Jesus Christ. Zambian society's attitude towards children is no different from that of Jesus' disciples. For this reason, the next

¹⁸ D. Brewster, *Child, Church and Mission: A Resource Book for Christian child Development Workers*, Makati City, Philippines: Church Strengthening Ministry, 2005, pp. 17-18.

¹⁹ The poem was extracted from the *New York Times*, April 6, 1992, Sec. B, p. 3, thereby making it not contextual to Zambia. However, the idea and concepts amplified in the poem relate to the plight of children in Zambia.

section analyzes Matthew 19:13-15 so as to expose society's attitude toward children and establish a theological basis about God's view of children.

Exegetical Analysis of Jesus' Call in Matthew 19:13-15

The biblical view of children within God's covenant provides a strong basis for our understanding of children's relevance in any given society. As Wilson explains, in the Israelite community of faith children were identified as the offspring, who were also highly valued as gracious gifts from God (Ps 113:9; 127:3; 128:5-6).²⁰ That is why having many children was considered a divine blessing (Gen 24:60; Ruth 4:11-12), and the multiplication of descendants was part of God's promise to Israel's ancestors (Gen 12:2; 15:5; 16:10; 17:2; 22:17; 26:4). Barrenness was considered at best as a displeasing experience (Gen 16:2; 30:2; 1 Sam 1:3-8) and at worst as a divine punishment (Gen 20:18). Children in the Old Testament were considered as valued partakers of the covenantal blessings of God.

The New Testament picks up the same covenantal understanding of children, although for most of the New Testament writers children did not occupy the centre of attention.²¹ Probably that is the reason why little attention is paid to children in their writing.²² Whatever the case could have been, amidst such relative absence of attention in the New Testament, we still find suggestive encounters of Jesus with children. Such encounters evoke attention and caring responses by Jesus toward children and the valuing of their lives in their own right. Among the few encounters, there is one which records Jesus' blessing of the children, a brief narrative recorded in each of the synoptic gospels (Mk 10:13-16;

²⁰ Wilson R. Child, "Children," in P.J. Achtemeier (ed), *The HarperCollins Bible Dictionary*, New York: Harper San Francisco, 1996, p. 176.

²¹ D.H. Jensen, *Grace Vulnerability: A Theology of Childhood*, Cleveland, Ohio: The Pilgrim Press, 2005, p. 10.

²² A. Barnes, *Notes on the New Testament: Explanatory and Practical*, Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1952, p. 196.

Matt 19:13-15; Lk 18:15-17). This chapter's exegetical analysis is focused on the narrative as told by Matthew.

The word 'child' is rendered by various terms in the Greek text, such as *paidion*, *pais*, *teknon*, and *nepios*.²³ In Matthew 19:13-15, *παιδίον* (child) and *παιδιά* (children) take precedence. Children in Matthew are known and presented as humble, unambitious, docile or submissive, innocent, wonder, dependent, trusting, of no status of importance, and have the ability to forgive. Matthew's view is that "children shared the social status of the poor, the hungry, and the suffering, whom Jesus calls 'blessed.' For this reason, apparently, he insists on receiving children into the reign of God."²⁴ Thus, children's vulnerability and powerlessness seem to lie at the heart of Jesus' extension of the reign of God to them. It is within the context of such childlike traits that Matthew seeks to tell us that children can count on Jesus' sympathy and care for them because, as covenant partakers, they too are the intended recipients of the reign of God.

Matthew 19:13-15 appears to provide a kingdom perspective on children.²⁵ While the disciples portray a harsh treatment of children when they were brought before Jesus for blessing and prayer, Jesus overturns it with welcome, embrace and love. The disciples' attitude was probably due to their thought that the children were too young and would be troublesome to the busy Jesus. Perhaps the disciples regarded these children as an intrusion upon Jesus and his kingdom. To the contrary, Jesus showed that he was not too busy to spend time on children; instead he gave them time and space as they were worthy of the kingdom of heaven.

Weren relates Matthew 19:13-15 to Genesis 48, where Jacob on his deathbed pronounces his blessings over Ephraim and Manasseh, the two

²³ W. Weren, "Children in Matthew: A Semantic Study," M. Junker-Kenny and N. Mette (eds), *Little Children Suffer: Concilium*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996, p. 61.

²⁴ J.M. Gundry-Volf, "The Least and the Greatest: Children in the New Testament," in M.J. Bunge (ed), *The Child in Christian Thought*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001, p. 38.

²⁵ M.E. Ross, *Let's Study Matthew*, Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2009, p. 182.

sons of Joseph.²⁶ The two texts are related in various ways: firstly, in both texts the children are brought to be blessed (Gen 48:10, 13; Matt 19:13); secondly, in both texts there is mention of the laying on of hands (Gen 48:10; Matt 19:13, 15); and thirdly, in both texts the laying on of hands is coupled with a prayer (Gen 48:15-16; Matt 19:15). Besides these obvious similarities, there is an intriguing thought of natural hierarchy in both texts which plays a major role, and may apply to our discussion. In Genesis 48 Joseph respects this hierarchy by putting Manasseh, the older son, on the right hand of his father and Ephraim on the left as per obtaining custom. However, Jacob blesses the pair with arms crossed, so that the younger son receives the blessing that was intended for the firstborn. The same reversal of existing conditions is echoed in Matthew 19:13-15, at least in two respects: In the first respect, Jesus' solidarity with children (vs. 14a, 15) is in tension with the views of his time that young children occupy the lowest place on the social ladder. In the second respect, by his metaphorical use of the term 'children' (v. 14b), Jesus indicates that for the sake of the kingdom his disciples must break with the conventional hierarchy of values in their environment and must opt for a life which is characterized by vulnerability.

The Zambian society equally needs social transformation which will enhance adherence to Jesus' call so that the dividing barriers against children are broken down for an inclusive and meaningful development. God in Jesus Christ shows a special concern for children as dearly loved despite being vulnerable members and occupying the lowest position in society (Matt 18:1-5). Therefore the emphasis in the text is the importance of showing respect, concern and honour to those whom the society does not respect and devalues, such as children.²⁷ Thus, Jesus' gesture typified in the rebuke of the disciples is a call to turn attention to children. Furthermore, the touching and blessing of children "is an extended metaphor of his own ministry: The Saviour of the world touches those whom most

²⁶ W. Weren, "Children in Matthew: A Semantic Study," in M. Junker-Kenny and N. Mette (eds), *Little Children Suffer: Concilium*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996, pp. 60-61.

²⁷ Matthew J. Kapolyo, in T. Adeyemo (ed), *Africa Bible Commentary*, Nairobi: Word Alive Publishers, 2006, p. 1150.

would rather ignore, blessing and healing them for renewed life,"²⁸ and "children are valued not for who they will become, but for who they are and whose they are."²⁹ Jesus' invitation evokes the response to attend to the vulnerable and be changed by the pressing realities of children's lives. The unique face of each child calls for the Zambian society's attention to children in its development agenda.

Though the scenario of children in Zambia is a sad story to tell, the country's development agenda can, however, be transformative and inclusive of children. The quest for transformative and inclusive development needs to be driven by the theological itch that God loves, welcomes and embraces the children. The last section is, therefore, devoted to proposing a theological and ethical model for a development agenda in Zambia.

Theological and Ethical Model for Children's Development Agenda in Zambia

A theological and ethical model for children's development agenda in Zambia ought to be based on *God's covenantal perspective of children*. Children are part of the covenant in which God establishes a relationship with humanity. Hence, a theology of childhood affirms that God embraces children as full members of the covenantal community of the faithful. In the covenant house of God "childhood is not a stage that anticipates full human life, but an enduring reality saturated with meaning and grace."³⁰ Children, like adults, find meaning for their lives in that the triune God by his grace has embraced them in his covenant and regards them as equal beneficiaries of God's covenantal blessings. The Father through Jesus Christ welcomes, embraces and blesses children who are dismissed by society, and the Holy Spirit is actively present and operative in their lives. Though children are organically connected to their parents, the Holy Spirit is present in and has the ultimate power over both the parents and children, and gives effect to their nurture and growth

²⁸ D.H. Jensen, *Grace Vulnerability: A Theology of Childhood*, Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 2005, p. 10.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 11.

³⁰ Ibid.

from tender age.³¹ The triune God works his grace in children through the parents who should in turn play their best role to provide parental nurture. All this shows that the triune God sees children as valued and viable members of the covenantal community of faith who are worthy of respect and care, despite being dependent and vulnerable. Therefore, the Zambian society will do well to include them in its development agenda.

A theological and ethical model for children's development agenda in Zambia advances an *ontological view of children*: the nature of children is that they are not simply incomplete adults, neither is their childhood merely the prelude to adulthood, as "every newly born child possesses already the fullness of being human."³² This means that from birth, children are as fully human as they will ever become, and already have the value and depth of full humanity. Hence, what is fully present in children is still to be realized as children progress in their maturation. If children are fully human, they deserve to be regarded as such with respect and appropriate treatment. If they are failed on this, the future of humanity is put in jeopardy. Honouring childhood and deeply respecting children as fully human from birth will help the Zambian society to be empathic with children's experience, and to effectively respond to their pressing needs by undertaking development that is transformative and inclusive of children.

A theological and ethical model for children's development agenda in Zambia targets *holistic transformative development* for children. Development is an integrated process which aims at realizing the full potential of human life in a given society.³³ In Luke 2:52 we find a useful model around which to create a holistic transformative development for children. We are told that Jesus as a child developed in wisdom, stature and in the favour with God and men. Thus, Jesus' personal development neatly encompassed the mental, intellectual, physical, spiritual, social and moral aspects of the whole person. This implies that children's

³¹ H. Bushnell, *Christian Nurture*, Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2000, p. 32.

³² H. Anderson and S.B.W. Johnson, *Regarding Children: A New Respect for Childhood and Families*, Louisville: Westminster, John Knox Press, 1994, p. 9.

³³ E. Stoesz, *Thoughts on Development*, Development Monograph Series 1, 1977, pp. 4-15.

holistic development is a process by which children "become whole, characterized by growth, change and learning."³⁴ Holistic transformative development also aims at achieving children's self-reliance through raised awareness, increased knowledge, skills and attitudes, built relationship, modeling, and resource linking.³⁵ By this, children acquire their own knowledge, strength, and all other needed resources to meet their own needs.³⁶ Holistic transformative development can help children in Zambia to become more and more what God intends them to be, fully human and covenant beneficiaries.

A theological and ethical model for children's development agenda in Zambia leads to a *change in moral and social attitudes* towards children. Thus, it leads to a change from dismissing to recognition of children as fully human who are embraced in God's covenant. Therefore it is crucial "that we foster the transformation from the indifference that prevails to the respect that ought to characterize our attitudes toward children and families in society."³⁷ The future of any given community entirely depends on changing its dominant attitudes toward children and childhood from contempt to respect. This transformation begins with the recognition that children are fully human and part of God's covenant, and it is cardinal for children's spiritual and social formation.³⁸ Children need social and emotional connection, assurance of safety and trustworthiness, mutual gifting, responsibility, stories telling and hearing, and how those stories weave into the fabric of God's story. Therefore, the Zambian social setup needs to create an enabling environment where children feel welcome, accepted and embraced, are interacted with and treated as valid

³⁴ D. Brewster, *Child, Church and Mission: A Resource Book for Christian Child Development Workers*, Makati City, Philippines: Church Strengthening Ministry, 2005, p. 40.

³⁵ Ibid, p. 42.

³⁶ Ibid, p. 48.

³⁷ H. Anderson and S.B.W. Johnson, *Regarding Children: A New Respect for Childhood and Families*, Louisville: Westminster, John Knox, 1994, p. 4.

³⁸ I. Beckwith, *Postmodern Children's Ministry: Ministry to Children in the 21st Century*, Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2004, pp. 80-99.

members for progress and real behavioural change and holistic development.

A theological and ethical model for children's development agenda in Zambia includes *promotion of children's rights*. As country number 102 to ratify the UNCRC on 6th December, 1991,³⁹ Zambia has an obligation to incorporate the Convention's provisions into its own national laws. This can be accomplished through a considered and concerted resolve to promote children's rights as enshrined in the Convention. A simple recipe for promoting children's rights could be by focusing on the main thrusts of the Convention.⁴⁰ Firstly, it requires *provision* for children's special needs associated with human holistic development, such as goods and services necessary for their healthy maturation. Secondly, it demands *protection* of children from threats to their personhood because justice demands fundamental liberties and protection for all participants in society. Lastly, it entails tireless *proclamation* that children have the right to participate in decisions affecting their lives and society as a whole.

A theological and ethical model for children's development agenda in Zambia constitutes *practical measures* in order to foster transformational development that embraces the full humanity of children as residents in God's covenantal household.⁴¹ First and most importantly, it calls for a genuine resolve to unconditionally love, accept and respect children as fully human. Second, it calls for a deliberate creation of an enabling environment where children are able to harness their potential for new discoveries and development. Third, it calls for a passionate drive to promote children's rights at all cost for the enhancement of social justice. Fourth, it calls for a political will to develop social protection policies and legislate laws that promote children's wellbeing. Fifth, it calls for

³⁹ See the following website for the list of countries that ratified the United Nations Convention on Rights for the Child: <http://unchildrights.blogspot.com/2011/01/chronological-order-ratifications-crc.html> [3.5.2017].

⁴⁰ M.S. Foster, "The Rights of the Child," in M. Junker-Kenny and N. Mette (eds), *Little Children Suffer: Concilium*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996, pp. 121-125.

⁴¹ N. Mette, "Learning to Live and Believe with Children," in M. Junker-Kenny and N. Mette (eds), *Little Children Suffer: Concilium*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1996, pp. 104-106.

concerted efforts by all stakeholders to carry out economic and social programmes that will enable and support parents and communities to nurture and sustain their children. Sixth, it calls for the availability of information and resources for training and service delivery to social, health and security officers who handle children's issues. Lastly, it calls for alleviation of sufferings of children by supporting all efforts aimed at reducing the effects of poverty and the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

Conclusion

"Let the little children come to me, and do not hinder them!" This is Jesus' call to regard and treat children in Zambia as fully human who are passionately loved, welcomed and embraced by God in his covenant. Children are equally vital members with full human rights within the Zambian society. The respect for children and their inclusion in the development agenda should in turn lead to a realization of meaningful holistic transformative development. Since the future of Zambia lies in the children, the country's main tasks, therefore, should always be to give children more attention for their survival, growth and meaningful contribution in society. There is need to love, welcome, embrace and respect children, "for the kingdom of heaven belongs to such as these."

Chapter 13: Shona Proverbs and the Concept of Development

Liveson Tatira

Introduction

This chapter interrogates how Shona proverbs endeavour to articulate the issues of development. Proverbs are often taken as archaic and, therefore, as incapable of articulating topical issues such as that of development. This has proven to be incorrect since proverbs are capable and do speak to all current and topical issues, including development.¹

It is pertinent at this juncture to explain both development and proverbs. The word development, like democracy, has been found to have as many meanings as it has users. No wonder why Howard in Adams described it as "a slippery value word."² Thomas notes:

¹ L. Tatira, "Proverbs in Zimbabwean Advertisements," in *Journal of Folklore Research*, vol 38, no. 3, 2001; S.M. Thomas, "Taking Religious and Cultural Pluralism Seriously: The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Society," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2000; C. Malunga and C. Banda, *Understanding Organizational Sustainability through African Proverbs: Insights for Leaders and Facilitators*, Washington DC, Impact Alliance Press, 2013; J.A. Ademowo and N.O. Balogun, "Proverbs, Values and the Development Question in Contemporary Africa: A Case Study of Yoruba Proverbs," in *Antropologija*, 14, 2014; A.I. Olubunmi, "An Ethno-methodology of Selected Yoruba Proverbs," in *International Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 3(10), 2010; McDonnell, J. "Re-theorizing the Integral Link between Culture and Development: Exploring Ghanaian Proverbs as Theoretical and Practical Knowledges for Development," MA, University of Toronto, 2012.

² W.M. Adams, *Green Development: Environment and Sustainability in a Developing World*, New York and London, Routledge, 2009, p. 7.

A multitude of meanings is attached to the idea of development; the term is complex, contested, ambiguous and elusive.³

Fekede also observes:

Development is used in many contexts in economics, culture, biology etc. Economic development is measured in many ways, such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Human Development Index (HDI), which includes health—measured with life expectancy: knowledge—measured with adult literacy rate and the combined primary, secondary, and tertiary education: and a standard of living measured with GDP, that is, income per capital.⁴

This means that the term development can be used to mean different things by different people. The concept of development has also been observed to be driven by ideologies and values which can be Neoliberalism, Structuralism or Interventionism. However, in this chapter, development will be understood as the process of bringing about social change that allows people to achieve their human potential.⁵ Proverbs are seen as capable of bringing social change that allows people to achieve their human potential. Proverbs do this, as previously noted, through their ability to articulate issues of hard work, laziness, human dignity, cooperation, peaceful co-existence and care for others which are obviously essential ingredients for development. They do inculcate development discourses into the society to achieve development.⁶

Proverbs are powerful tools of communication among many African people and the Shona are no exception. They have the potential of

³ S.M. Thomas, "Taking Religious and Cultural Pluralism Seriously: The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Society," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2000.

⁴ M. Fekede, "Discourse of Development in Gurage Proverbs," in *EJSSIS*, 1(1), 2014, p. 26.

⁵ S.M. Thomas, "Taking Religious and Cultural Pluralism Seriously: The Global Resurgence of Religion and the Transformation of International Society," *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2000.

⁶ M. Fekede, "Discourse of Development in Gurage Proverbs," in *EJSSIS* 1(1), 2014.

persuading people to abandon certain practices and embrace the preferred one. Fairclough notes, "Proverbs are impersonal dominantly in point of view, and literal, metaphorical and pragmatic in meaning."⁷ The impersonal character of the proverbs helps them to be easily acceptable to people. What will be said will not be coming from the speaker, the speaker only deploys accepted statements in appropriate situations. The intended hearers will not take grudge with the speaker since what the speaker is saying is wisdom taken from the past generations. Therefore, emotions are kept low since there will be no direct attack on individuals. The metaphors used in proverbs help to create vivid mental pictures that evoke people's minds, thereby drawing their attention to the subject matter. This allusive language vividly drives a point home in the shortest possible time. Lastly, proverbs are pragmatic, they express what people know and do. In this regard, people can easily identify their experiences, expectations and aspirations through them.

Ademowo and Balogun contend,

If culture is a veritable instrument of development, if language is a carrier of culture and if the relationship between language and culture is like that of two sides of the same coin, then the role of proverbs as a metaphorical use of language cannot be overemphasized in any development discourse.⁸

Therefore, there is an invaluable nexus between language (proverbs) and development. In the subsequent sections, the chapter delves into the use of proverbs in order to foster development. As previously noted, proverbs deal with issues of human dignity, hard work, laziness, care of others, cooperation and peaceful co-existence.

⁷ "Duhaine's Law Dictionary," N. Fairclough, *Analyzing Discourses: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, London: Routledge, 2003, p. 39.

⁸ J.A. Ademowo and N.O. Balogun, "Proverbs, Values and the Development Question in Contemporary Africa: A Case Study of Yoruba Proverbs," in *Antropologija*, 14, 2014, p. 149.

Human Dignity

There are Shona proverbs which deal with the theme of human dignity. In order to foster development and to achieve development, human beings must be accorded their human dignity. There is no nation which can be said to be developed if it does not bestow dignity to its citizens. Duhaime's Law Dictionary defines human dignity as follows, "An individual or group's sense of self-respect and self-worth, physical and psychological integrity and empowerment."⁹ Those who talk about human rights are in agreement that human dignity is the most important human right and that all other fundamental rights derive therefrom.

The issue of human dignity is enshrined in the Republic of Zimbabwe 2013 Constitution. The Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20) (3) has as one of its founding values and principles that it believes in the "recognition of the inherent dignity and worth of each human being."

The Shona proverbs instil this sense of human dignity to its members, especially to the deprived members of society. There are Shona proverbs which encourage advantaged members of society to treat the disadvantaged with human dignity. One such example is: *Murombo munhu* (Even a poor person is still a human being). Another proverb reminds people to treat the poor with dignity and respect. The other proverb is *Munhu munhu chirema chinotungamira zhira* (A person is a person, a cripple leads the way). This proverb speaks against discrimination of people due to disability. One who leads the way controls the pace of movement, therefore, is considered important. The cripple should, therefore, not be despised for he/she can perform important roles in society which the able bodied might fail to do.

The state of development in a country can be measured by how it treats its members, especially women, children, the elderly and the disabled. Therefore, the Shona proverbs endeavour to achieve development by instilling in people the value and importance of treating the disabled and

⁹ "Duhaine's Law Dictionary," N. Fairclough, *Analyzing Discourses: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, London: Routledge, 2003.

the poor with the human dignity they deserve. The following section discusses proverbs that deal with the theme of hard work.

Hard Work

For any society or nation to develop, it is essential that members of that particular society or nation should be hard workers. Proverbs are well placed to speak on the issue of hard work and the rewards derived therefrom. The proverbs stimulate people into action thereby assist to increase productivity. Yankah aptly observes that proverbs have the power to stimulate behavioural change.¹⁰ Apart from changing behaviour they can be agents for perseverance, thus instilling resilience in people despite facing daunting tasks.

One of the proverbs which exhort people to work hard is *Kupfuma ishungu unovata musoro uri pazhe pejira* (To be rich one should have a strong ambition, one should sleep with the head not covered by a blanket). A person who works hard normally sleeps late and wakes up early. In order to reconcile sleeping late and waking up early, one must not cover one's head with a blanket. This is meant not to allow the sleeper a full sleep since the uncovered head will experience the cold or the cool throughout the night. Thus, one is ready to wake up at any moment that he/she feels like working. The other reason is to keep the sleeper in constant check of the time so that well before dawn one would have woken up. It is unlike one who covers the head who might think is still dark when the sun has long since risen.

Another proverb which encourages hard work is *Kupfuma kunowanikwa mudikita* (Richness is begotten through sweat). This proverb instils the value of hard work. Dubious riches are not only discouraged, but are looked down upon among the Shona people. Hence *Ufumi rwekuba hwuna makumbo* (Richness begotten through theft has legs). It means that stolen riches evaporate, they do not last. The Shona also believe that things one has worked for last longer than those acquired without having been worked for hence they say *Fuma yenhaka haigari* (Inherited wealth

¹⁰ K. Yankah, *The Proverb in the Context of Akan Rhetoric: A Theory of Proverb Praxis*, New York: Peter Lang, 1989.

does not last). The wealth that lasts is the one begotten through hard work, so people are expected to do no less.

There is yet another proverb which encourages hard work: *Pako hapana ravira* (When engaged with your task there is no sunset, you can continue to work after hours). This proverb propels people to work hard and to focus on the task at hand rather than on the time of knocking off. This motivates the worker to be target driven in one's performance of duty, thus increasing production.

The last to be used as an example in this subsection is *Mbavarira inoda vane nharo* (Perseverance calls for the non-fainthearted). The proverb encourages people to keep pressing even if they are encountering a daunting task, adversities and even threats. The spirit of the proverb is that of not giving up. Such spirit helps to keep people focused and is vital for development to take place.

It is true that the process of human development is essentially grounded in the task of eliminating poverty, therefore, if the culture of hard work is instilled in people, development is likely to be achievable. The Shona proverbs, as has been demonstrated, help in this regard.

The reverse side of hard work is laziness. There is no society or nation which can achieve development if its members are lazy.

Laziness

Among the Shona every member of the society is expected to work, each according to age and gender. It is when one deliberately fails to perform his/her work to the expectations of society that one is labelled lazy. People are reminded through the proverb, *Usimbe hauna chidyiwa* (Laziness provides no food) that laziness is a bad thing. The one who is lazy will find no food. People are encouraged to work hard in order to fend for themselves. It is through shunning laziness that people work hard and develop their society.

Another proverb which talks about the negativity of laziness is *Nhamo neusimbe hazvisiyani* (Poverty and laziness go together). Poverty is a sure sign of underdevelopment, in order to run away from poverty; people are encouraged not to be lazy.

Care for Others

The concept of caring for others is central to *Ubuntu*. The Shona people believe that they find happiness, satisfaction and completeness when fellow members of their society are happy. The misfortune of another member is taken as having befallen the whole community. For this reason, in traditional Shona society there were no homeless people, destitute as we might like to call them. Every member of the society had a relative and a place one called home. The issue of staying with a deprived relative was not out of choice but an obligation to be fulfilled. When a relative failed to perform this obligation, he/she was derided, castigated and sometimes ostracized by society. It is common knowledge that a society which cares for others develops, and caring for others is a mark of development.

The following are some of the proverbs that speak to the issue of caring for others. (a) *Chinorambwa isadza munhu haarambwi* (What can be rejected is *sadza* [thick porridge] not a person), (b) *Hama haipiwi munhu* (A relative cannot be given to somebody), (c) *Chadyiwa nemurombo chadyiwa naShe* (What has been eaten by a poor person has been eaten by the chief), (d) *Pavhunika gumbo, ziso rinobuda musodzi* (When a leg is fractured, the eye sheds tears) and (e) *Kunyima mufambi kuzvipa munyama* (To deny a traveller food is to invite bad luck).

(a) *Chinorambwa isadza hama hairambwi* (What can be rejected is *sadza* [thick porridge] not a relative). Among the Shona people *sadza* is the staple food. Many Shona people generally say that if they eat something which is not *sadza*, no matter how nice and plenty it might be, they would still long for *sadza*. Regardless of its special place among the Shona, it is not comparable to a relative.

It shows that the Shona take great concern when it comes to their relatives. This is why many Shona households take care of relatives, be it in urban, peri-urban, farming, mining or rural areas. I have previously argued that in the Shona concept of family, the term extended family does not exist. They are better called interconnected families. These interconnected families take care of each other and this is almost obligatory.

(b) *Hama haipiwu munhu* (A relative cannot be given to somebody), points to how relatives are valued in Shona society. No matter how poor, ill or in a sorry state a relative might be, one should find refuge with relatives. With such an attitude the number of destitute people would be reduced. This would result in better living conditions of the deprived members and therefore a developed society.

The less privileged members of society are also taken care of through the proverb (c) *Chadyiwa nomurombo chadyiwa naShe* (What has been eaten by a poor person has been eaten by the chief). In a traditional setting, there is no one who dares to challenge a chief since he is unapproachable. It means if a chief takes something from you, it amounts to disrespect if you ask him to pay back. Even if he fails to pay back, you cannot summon him to his court to settle the dispute. The practical way is to ignore and let it pass. In the same way, people are encouraged to help the poor because they have no capacity to pay back. Furthermore, they do not have collateral security which can be attached to offset whatever they would have been given.

The last proverb in this section is (d) *Pavhunika gumbo ziso rinobuda musodzi* (When the leg is fractured, the eye sheds tears). The proverb speaks of compassion and feeling for others who are in trouble. Generally, compassion is the first step to assistance. As instinctive as it is that one cries when hurt, so assistance to a fellow member who is in trouble ought to be involuntary and quick.

Cooperation

One of the essences of *Ubuntu* is to cooperate with fellow members. In the traditional Shona setting, festivities are public occasions to which members of the society have an open invitation. They join in the celebration as well as contributing labour and food for the success of the event. All members within the vicinity are obliged to attend and cooperate with other members.

The same happens at a *nhimbe/humwe* (work party). This is an event in which villagers join hands to assist each other in ploughing, harvesting or any other task. Normally, there will be a lot of food and beer for the members to enjoy after their work. There are countless occasions where

cooperation is evident in Shona society. Cooperation is a catalyst to development. When people work together with a common goal, they are bound to achieve more. This spirit of cooperation is fostered through Shona proverbs.

The importance of cooperation is also expressed in the proverb, *Rume rimwe harikombi churu* (One man cannot surround an anthill). Its variant is *Chara chimwe hachitswanyiri inda* (One finger cannot crush a louse). Both proverbs point to the fact that when people work together they can even accomplish an insurmountable task. If people join hands they can better solve the problems bedevilling them. As much as an individual tries to execute his/her expertise, if there is no cooperation, little will be achieved. One hunter who tries to kill a game in an anthill will fail as the animals will flee from all other sides thus he is in desperate need of others to surround the anthill. The same applies to a person who desperately requires another finger so that he/she is able to squeeze the louse between the two fingers.

The proverb, *Kuturika denga remba kubatirana* (To put up a hut's roof needs joining hands), expresses the value and importance of cooperation. When putting up a hut's roof, one needs others who will hand him materials from the ground while he will be on top of the wall. With such cooperation, work becomes lighter and achievable in less time. The proverb speaks of the power of cooperation in all human endeavours.

The last proverb in this section is *Imbwa mbiri hadzitorerwi nyama* (Two dogs cannot have their meat taken away). This is meant to drive home the importance of cooperation and goal-centeredness. Dogs fend off anything which does dare to take away meat from them through biting as well as keeping the meat between them. People are urged to work together in defending what is theirs. Intruders are not supposed to plunder the economy while people fail to cooperate. If the national cake is defended, and there are no economic leakages, development is likely to be achieved.

Peaceful Coexistence

Peace augurs well with development. Where there is war, quarrels and conflict, energy and resources are diverted to bring stability rather than

using them to develop people's lives. Conflict at whatever level is retrogressive and counter-development. Among the Shona, peaceful coexistence is a golden rule.

The Shona people are not oblivious of the fact that where people interact there is bound to be conflict, but they fully believe that conflict should be avoided as much as possible. Where it happens, it should be checked and kept tolerable so as not to tear society apart. For this reason, they have *bembera*, *mavingu* and the system of naming, especially of dogs to avert direct confrontation which might end up in direct conflicts.¹¹

Bembera is a situation when an aggrieved party wakes up in the early morning when people are already awake but still in bed. The aggrieved party pours out all the concerns he/she has. He/she makes a veiled attack on the person(s) believed to have aggrieved him/her. The aggrieved person makes threats to force the supposed perpetrator to address the situation. A veiled description of the supposed perpetrator is also given. *Bembera* is meant to address the problem without resorting to direct confrontation. It also exonerates the aggrieved person from being accused of having falsely accused someone. At sunrise, people continue with their duties as if nothing had happened, that is no one will confront the aggrieved member. It is only the perpetrator who will make amends that very day or in the shortest possible time.

Mavingu is where we find an aggrieved woman, normally a daughter-in-law, engaging in protest singing. She does this as she performs her household chores within her mother-in-law's earshot. The duties might be sweeping the yard, pounding millet or grinding peanuts. It is taboo for a daughter-in-law to directly confront her mother-in-law, no matter the injustice meted out upon her. In such a scenario, the daughter-in-law verbalizes her complaints through a song. The mother-in-law is bound to quietly address the grievances if they are legitimate.

The other means of avoiding direct confrontation and conflict is when people verbalize their misgivings through their dog names. The aggrieved person names a dog and the other party can reply by also naming

¹¹ L. Tatira, "Beyond the Dog's Name: A Silent Dialogue among the Shona People," in *Journal of Folklore Research*, vol. 41, no. 1, 2004.

their dog.¹² The unpalatable discourse is carried through the dog names without directly confronting each other. Life goes on day in day out.

All what I have said does not mean that direct conflict never occurs in Shona society; it does happen but the point is that it is not welcome and people try to avoid it as much as possible. For this reason, there are proverbs which foster peaceful coexistence. The proverbs discourage revenge, fighting, antagonism, and hatred among other things.

The proverb *Tsvaru akadana tivu* (A light blow invited a heavy one). The proverb addresses both the issues of provocation and revenge. People are warned not to provoke others and those that are provoked not to retaliate. The ultimate goal is that of maintaining calmness in the face of provocation.

Another proverb which advocates for peace is *Kudzorera umwe kuisa musoro mumakwati* (To take revenge is to take back one's head in one's shell). By withdrawing in the face of abuse or provocation, the aggressor normally feels ashamed and stops the provocation and in some instances apologizes. Silence and calmness is a strong weapon that normally defeats aggression.

People are warned to be careful not to be drawn into outright confrontation through the proverb, *Rutsva runovira nokuwona rumwe* (Veldt fire spreads at the sign of the other). It means that if one pays back in the same coin, the confrontation escalates.

Pfumo harivaki musha (A spear does not build a home), is another proverb which points to the destructiveness of fighting. It is only through constructive dialogue that society can be built and moved forward. A fighting society or nation cannot develop.

Conclusion

The chapter has shown that the Shona proverbs are relevant to every situation people find themselves in. For this reason, they can be deployed to articulate developmental issues. Shona people easily identify with proverbs and the values enshrined therein. The use of appropriate Shona

¹² Ibid.

proverbs can jolt people into action and thereby help to achieve desired goals. In the case of development, Shona proverbs clearly speak to the issues of human dignity, hard work, laziness, care for others, cooperation and peaceful coexistence which are important elements of development.

Chapter 14: The Central Kalahari Game Reserve Land Dispute: Law, Economics and Theological Perspective

**Tshenolo J. Madigele, P.K. Madigele,
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Introduction

The contributions of land and natural resources to growth, development and poverty reduction at national and household level can never be underestimated. The livelihoods of the poor tend to be heavily dependent on land and natural resources such as wildlife, soil and forests. In Botswana, natural resources are the single most significant driver of economic growth and development.¹ Their contribution is not only limited to GDP growth, but also to household economies, social protection, human capital development, and production of ecosystem goods and services. Due to the deep-rooted ties between natural resources and local communities, the benefits of natural resources often hold more than purely economic value for individuals and communities.²

However, in the quest of striking the balance between the protection of ecosystems, conservation, protection of indigenous rights, commercialization of natural resources at national level and promotion of tourism, governments are often themselves in conflicts and/or disputes with local communities. The Government of Botswana is no exception, as it has been entangled in bitter disputes and disagreements over land and natural resource rights with the inhabitants of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) for a decade. Such disputes have been escalated to the courts of law. At one end, the Government's policies are adamant at conserving biodiversity, promoting tourism and developing settlements

¹ UNDP 2013, *Human Development Report*, www.hdrundp.org/en/reports/global/hdr [12.7.2017].

² United States Institute of Peace, 2007.

outside the CKGR, while at other end the locals are resolute at securing their indigenous rights of land ownership and resource use.³

Natural resource economists and theological ecologists, among other scholars have, over the past two decades, propagated attention towards understanding how historical legacies influence ecosystem structures as well as land use activities and general livelihoods. Such scholars have now concluded that land use legacies are sticky and tenacious as they follow a historical path; the function of ecosystems is dependent on land history; the management of systems and policy development are influenced by the land's historical path; and history plays an important role in enabling institutionalists to appreciate contemporary structures in any particular environment globe.⁴

Although multi-disciplinarity is increasingly being embraced as a tool for natural resource conflict management,⁵ there is a dearth of academic research that uses a multi-disciplinary approach to conceptualizing natural resource and land use conflicts in Botswana. This chapter provides a multi-disciplinary approach to understanding the disputes over land and natural rights in the CKGR. It borrows particularly from the economics of institutions and natural resources, and from law and theology with the aim of unearthing underlying issues within a theoretical context.

³ M. Sapignoli, *Local Power through Globalized Indigenous Identities: The San, the State, and the International Community*, PhD, Colchester: University of Essex, 2012; M. Sapignoli, and R.K. Hitchcock, "Indigenous Peoples in Southern Africa," *The Round Table: The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs*, 102(4), 2013, pp. 355-365.

⁴ G. Motzkin, D. Foster, A. Allen, J. Harrod, and R. Boone, "Controlling Site to Evaluate History: Vegetation Patterns of a New England Sand Plain," *Ecological Monographs*, 66(3), 1996, pp. 345-365.; C.L. Goodale and J.D. Aber, "The Long-Term Effects of Land-Use: History on Nitrogen Cycling in Northern Hardwood Forests," *Ecological Applications*, 11, 2001; D. Foster, F Swanson, J. Aber, Burke, I. Brokaw, N. Tilman, D. and A. Knapp, "The Importance of Land-Use Legacies to Ecology and Conservation," *BioScience*, 53(1), 2003.

⁵ V. Matiru, *Conflict and Natural Resource Management*, Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, 2000.

Land and Natural Resource Rights – Law Perspective

The history of the Basarwa, or San as they are often referred to, is a history of dispossession of land and persecution by dominant Tswana speaking ethnic groups, governments and capitalists, both local and foreign.⁶ Historically a hunter-gatherer community of people, the San were subjected to displacements, and were also at the mercy of cattle herders who drilled boreholes in what was historically their ancestral land.⁷

To mitigate the subjugation and loss of land for use by the San, a colonial government official, George Silberbauer, proposed the setting up of a reserve for the use of the San to practice their traditional life style.⁸ The proposal emanated from the survey with the objective to come up with recommendations for dealing with San issues, including what to do about the problems of the landless people – many of them San – on the Ghanzi freehold farms in western Bechuanaland.⁹ Silberbauer thought of the CKGR as a kind of 'people's reserve', however, due to the non-existence of the statutory framework empowering the colonial administration to allow for the declaration of such a reserve, the designation 'game reserve' was used instead.¹⁰

CKGR was created in 1961 by the British to guarantee the San continued occupation of their land. The British colonial government gazetted the CKGR primarily to placate international concern over the welfare of the so called "Bushmen," a concern which has itself fostered an historical

⁶ M.N. Marobela, "The State, Mining and the Community: The Case of Basarwa of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in Botswana," *Labour, Capital and Society*, 43(1), 20120.

⁷ C. Morinville and L. Rodina, "Rethinking the Human Right to Water: Water Access and Dispossession in Botswana's Central Kalahari Game Reserve," *Geoforum*, 49, 2013.

⁸ S. Saugestad, "Impact of International Mechanisms on Indigenous Rights in Botswana," *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 15(1), 2011.

⁹ R. Hitchcock, "'We are the First People:' Land, Natural Resources and Identity in Central Kalahari, Botswana," *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28(4), 2002.

¹⁰ Ibid.

understanding of the peoples of the Kgalagadi.¹¹ This thorny issue found its way into modern day Botswana having failed to go to rest during the colonial era. It might be mainly due to the government's position that Botswana does not have indigenous minorities, rather, that all citizens of the country are indigenous to the country.¹²

The San and Bakgalagadi have been engaged in a struggle for land and resource-rights in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, a large protected area in central Botswana that can be traced to the mid-1980s.¹³ The reserve occupies some 52,000 km² of the central part of Botswana and was at the time untouched by an expanding cattle industry. The land is flat grassland and scrub savannah interlaced by fossil riverbeds.¹⁴ It is rich in wildlife but extremely vulnerable to drought due to its loose sandy soil and lack of permanent surface water. The reference to the mid-1980s coincides with the period of re-designation of the CKGR in 1986 from its original use of wildlife conservation and a land reserve for traditional livelihood for the San community to conservation status only.¹⁵

The change in land use within the CKGR came about following some studies which suggested that wildlife were diminishing, and because of difficulties delivering development resources to remote populations inside the game and land reserve.¹⁶ A long and controversial process of removing and resettling San from their lands in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve followed dissolving their hunting and gathering rights,

¹¹ J. Ramsey, "Some Notes on the Colonial Era History of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve Region," *Botswana Notes and Records*, 20, 1989.

¹² R. Hitchcock, "'We Are the First People': Land, Natural Resources and Identity in Central Kalahari," *Botswana Journal of Southern African Studies*, 28(4), 2002.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ S. Saugestad, "Impact of International Mechanisms on Indigenous Rights in Botswana," *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 15(1), 2011.

¹⁵ C.B Soyapi, "Water Security and the Right to Water in Southern Africa: An Overview," *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal*, 20, 2017.

¹⁶ R. Sylvain, "Essentialism and the Indigenous Politics of Recognition in Southern Africa," *American Anthropologist*, 116(2), 2014.

which was challenged in the courts of law.¹⁷ Prior to the relocation of the historic inhabitants of the reserve, the government representatives met with people in the reserve during the 1990s and advised them on the advantages of moving to more central settlements, while it was emphasized that all relocation would be voluntary.¹⁸ Increasingly, the issue of relocation of Basarwa began to be viewed within the context of indigenous rights and gained both international and local opposition.

This controversy over land rights between the San and the government led to the longest and most expensive court case in the history of the country. This section discusses the legal aspect and the context of the land and natural resources use dispute in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve as it went through the courts of law in Botswana. It makes a review of the case of *Roy Sesana and Others v Attorney General*.¹⁹

A Review of Roy Sesana and Others v Attorney General

Due to the novel constitutional issues raised in the Roy Sesana case, it was heard by a panel of three high court judges, being Justices Dibotelo, Dow and Phumaphi. Each of the judges prepared a separate judgment. Notwithstanding that they agreed on the results, they differed on the reasoning.

The Material Facts

The case for the applicants remained, largely, as pleaded by Sesana in his founding affidavit, although there are some allegations made by Roy Sesana that were either not supported by any evidence or were abandoned as the case progressed. An example of a position that was abandoned is the allegation that the 1997 relocations were 'forced removals.' The new position seemed to be that those relocations were based on the consent of those or at least the majority of those, who relocated and that

¹⁷ N. Ohenjo, R. Willis, D. Jackson, C. Nettleton, K. Good and B. Mugarura, "Health of Indigenous People in Africa," 367, 2006.

¹⁸ S. Saugestad, "Impact of International Mechanisms on Indigenous Rights in Botswana," *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 15(1), 2011.

¹⁹ *Roy Sesana and Others v Attorney General*.

the relocations followed extensive consultations at Old Xade. Indeed it became an important part of the applicants' argument that while all of Old Xade residents relocated to New Xade, the majority of the residents in the smaller settlements never relocated and some of those who did, began to trickle back to the reserve over the years that followed the 1997 relocations.

The applicants alleged that the respondent wrongfully, forcibly and without their consent terminated the provision of basic and essential services to them. The unlawfulness and wrongfulness of this action, it is said, arise from the fact that the applicants had a legitimate expectation that the services would not be terminated without their first being consulted on the matter.

The court unanimously held that the relocations were nothing but a ploy to deprive the Basarwa of CKGR of their land forcibly, wrongfully and without their consent. Further, the court held that the refusal to issue special hunting licenses to CKGR residents and to bar them from entering the reserve was unlawful and unconstitutional.

Discussion and Analysis

This case is a true reflection of the government of Botswana's general failure to uphold many of the basic tenets of human rights, especially in regard to indigenous and otherwise marginalized groups. It is safe to argue that there is institutionalized and state backed tribalism in Botswana against the non-Tswana tribal groupings. That can be traced to Section 77-79 of the Constitution of Botswana²⁰ read together with the then Chieftainship Act which traditionally created two classes of tribes in Botswana, principal and minority tribes. Such designation was challenged and declared unconstitutional in *Kamanakao v Attorney General* and the court directed the amendment of the offending sections and pieces of legislation.

Notwithstanding that, following the court proceedings in the *Kamanakao* case the government complied with the ruling therein by amending the legislation, the essence of Section 77-79 of the Constitution remains in

²⁰ "Section 77-79," Constitution of Botswana.

place in that it grants the former "principal tribes" constitutionally guaranteed recognition and seats in the *Ntlo ya Dikgosi* while other tribes do not have such. Further, in terms of the Tribal Land Act, those tribes have land boards named after them which confirms their principality as opposed to other tribes.

The Basarwa, being one of those tribes which do not have statutory backed or guaranteed access to tribal land, remain vulnerable to dispossession of land as evidenced by the *Roy Sesana* case. Much as the historical account of the creation of the CKGR points to the fact that it was meant to create a land reserve for the vulnerable tribes in and around it, the government of Botswana has continuously refused to acknowledge their special rights to such land. The case study of the CKGR land dispute provides a clear picture of the institutionalized ill-treatment of non-Tswana tribal groups in respect to access to land and their treatment as second class citizens in their country of origin.

The position of the government of Botswana that in order for the Basarwa of CKGR to access development they have to be relocated elsewhere instead of the developments being brought to where they are, was nothing but a scorched earth plan to dispossess them of their land. Interestingly, Dow J (as then she was) observed that resources belong not to the governments, but it is for the government to manage them on behalf of the people. The learned judge further criticized the cut and paste approach of government that if some policy has worked elsewhere it would work everywhere as in the case of the Basarwa development and/or land issue without taking into consideration their special circumstances.

Land and Natural Resource Rights – Liberal and Ecological Theology Perspective

According to historians, the earliest inhabitants of Southern Africa and the Central Kalahari region are Basarwa (Bushmen or San).²¹ It has been

²¹ M. Bolaane, "The Impact of Game Reserve Policy on the River BaSarwa/Bushmen of Botswana," *Social Policy and Administration*, 38(4), 2004; R.K. Hitchcock, "Kalahari Communities: Bushmen and the Politics of the

documented that Basarwa first occupied the Central Kalahari region pre 1800s.²² Even though that is the case, the community finds itself having a landless status. This community, which was predominantly of hunters and gatherers living in the more arid regions of Botswana, finds itself without a land that they can align and associate with.²³ The Kgalagadi region offered them the ideal environment not only for survival, but also for practicing their religion and spirituality.

According to Amanze, the environment plays a significant role in understanding their spiritual milieu of ancestors and God.²⁴ He maintains that in African perspective, people understand their God in their ancestral land which they can manoeuvre through their ancestors to reach the spiritual realm. The core of his argument is that the environment in which they live informs them concerning the nature of their deity. Their environment therefore is more like the book of nature. This suggests that the spirituality of the Basarwa finds meaning so far as their religion is practiced in their ancestral land which *is* for all practical purposes their spirituality. The Kgalagadi region is therefore not only their physical home. It is also their spiritual habitat, without which their spirituality is meaningless and devoid of any depth. Arguably, the displacement of the Basarwa community from their habitat disconnects the community members from their sacred places.

It is from this backdrop that some Basarwa were not happy with resettlement at Kaudwane to the extent that some were said to have returned illegally to their CKGR homes. Though the government had cut down basic services such as water inside the Game Reserve, some people still

Environment in Southern Africa," Document no. 79, Copenhagen: IWGIA, 1996.

²² Ibid.

²³ M. Ruele, "Contextual Theological Reading of the Bible with Indigenous Communities: The Case of the Basarwa/San in Botswana," in M.R. Gunda and J. Kügler, *The Bible and Politics in Africa*, University of Bamberg Press, 2012.

²⁴ J.N. Amanze, "Christianity and Ancestor Veneration in Botswana," *Studies in World Christianity*, 9(1), 2003, p. 43-59.

returned to their land. In the Reserve, they continued their traditional way of life.²⁵

It is also imperative to note that the Basarwa regard the great God as a supreme god being. They believe that God created himself, then "created bush-food, water, the earth and air."²⁶ Basarwa also believe that God taught them skills they would need to live their lives and also gave them medicine so that they could cure themselves.²⁷ This seems to indicate that God, not humanity, is the provider of land, animals for hunting, food, water, good health, and fertility and so on. It could be maintained that the understanding of God as the sole leader (theocracy) and the sole provider, makes it difficult for the Basarwa community to come to terms with the fact that they are being denied access to the land of their ancestors as well as to its natural resources.

Their communal nature as well as their philosophy of sharing had always been influenced by their conception of God as the author of all that be. Their philosophy of life is called, *Xhuma-xhumae*. *Xhuma-xhumae* literally means, "Take and eat, and give me the leftovers!"²⁸ This is a collective understanding within the Basarwa community which emphasizes sharing and equality.

Xhuma-xhumae teaches that we are more human when we share and not keep more than we need. We have to be selfless and provide unconditional and uncompromising love towards others. The Basarwa community also believes that all that has been provided by God should be shared equally by all. What this community is doing is unique to the rest of today's human nature. They do not hoard. This is to say, they do not stock or store money or valued objects secretively or in a carefully guided manner. Instead, they share what they have among themselves on equal

²⁵ S. Kent, *Ethnicity, Hunter-Gatherers and the 'Other,'* Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002.

²⁶ M. Bieseke, "Sapience and Scarce Resources: Communication Systems of the Kung and other Foragers," *Social Science Information*, 1978.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ T.J. Moenga, *Xhumaxhumae Philosophy of Basarwa*, London: SCM, 2004.

basis.²⁹ Sharing and equality are therefore not only virtues, but a way of life that is evidently not recognized by the government of Botswana. Therefore, the clash of values and principles may also aggravate disputes between the government of Botswana and the Basarwa community.

The fact that the Basarwa do not hoard and that they have a good way of managing the natural resources defeats the argument that was put forward by the government that claimed that the Basarwa were wasting the land and the natural resources of the country. The hunting and gathering way of life actually preserves natural resources.³⁰ For instance, Basarwa rotate their hunting season and only kill mature game.³¹ Pregnant animals and young ones are avoided as a bad omen might come from the creator if killed. Basarwa also plant the seeds of plants that they eat and those used for medication. This shows how this people employ highly complex and flexible land-use strategies that have successfully sustained them through generations.

Moreover, the use of veld products such as edible wild plants and animal skins for clothing is a valid and appropriate form of land use. This usage can sustainably and adequately meet their basic economic needs where other forms of land use fail. Naturally, these people do not depend on tilling the land like other societies in Botswana or cutting down trees for their day to day survival. Dube also argues the exclusion of Basarwa from the mainstream economy has ensured that their lives remained simple, as most of them are hunters and gatherers.³² In addition, many of them do not have access to modern machinery that in many instances are described as not being environmentally friendly. This suggests that the

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ A. Whiten, V. Horner and S. Marshall-Pescini, "Cultural Panthropology," *Evolutionary Anthropology*, 12(2), 2003.

³¹ H. Bendsen and M.R. Motsholapheko, *The Role of Indigenous Knowledge in Natural Resource Management in Ngamiland*, Maun: EU-WERD Project, University of Botswana, Harry Oppenheimer Okavango Research Centre, 2003.

³² E. Dube, "'The Fickle and the Constant?' Reflections on Catholic Pastoral Documents as Defining State-Church Relations from 1959 to 2014," in *Journal of International Academic Research for Multidisciplinary (JIARM)*, 3(3), 2016.

Basarwa community had never been a threat to the environment and the economic status of Botswana.

This calls the church as the privileged community in Botswana to be in solidarity with the Basarwa community. The stolen dignity of the Basarwa community has to be restored as a matter of urgency. The impact of landlessness on the Basarwa in Botswana is not only poverty, but also the reduction of other human beings to non-humans. For peace and justice to prevail in Botswana, all humanity should be treated in dignity. It is high time the Church restores what has been stolen from the Basarwa community.

Christians are called upon to advocate for the cause of the ordinary citizens as well as restoring their hopes and dignity.³³ Mugambi also points out that the church can attain this goal through keeping the government accountable to principles of democracy as well as good governance. He further points out that the church should do this through engaging the government not publicly but privately for the sake of confidentiality and maintenance of dignity. Mugambi's view on the need for the church to implement the principles of reconstruction is similar to those of de Gruchy.³⁴ Writing in South Africa on the need for theology of good governance, De Gruchy argues that the church has a pastoral responsibility of accompanying postcolonial democratic nations through crucial processes of confession, forgiveness, healing, reconciliation, transformation and reconstruction.

Political Economy, Natural Resource Rights and Path Dependency– New Institutional Economics Perspective

According to New Institutional Economics (NIE), the governing policies and the legislature of the country are some of the fundamental elements

³³ Jesse N.K. Mugambi, *Social Reconstruction of Africa – The Roles of Churches*, AACC, 1997, revised as Jesse N.K. Mugambi, *Christian Theology and Social Reconstruction*, Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 2003.

³⁴ John de Gruchy, *The Church Struggle in South Africa*, London: SCM Press, 2004 (3rd revised and enlarged edition).

that define the country's political economy.³⁵ The political economy plays an essential part in overseeing the overall resource management. The clarity of the governing policies and laws in any given jurisdiction often leads to increased certainty about expected returns to be accrued from the natural resource within a given period of time, as well as to the creation of resource conservation incentives.³⁶

There seems to be a consensus between neoclassical economists and new institutional economists that there are several links between political systems and natural resource use by agents in the economy.³⁷ For instance, if the laws in any given jurisdiction clearly state the ownership details of, and claims on, the natural resource, then the element of uncertainty and ambiguity is eliminated. On the other hand, instability of the country's political environment and ambiguity in the ownership claims of the natural resources often lead to uncertainty on future returns to be accrued from such resources, increases disincentive of conserving the resources, and consequently lead to depletion and over-exploitation of the natural resources in question.³⁸

Both schools of thought concur that an important role played by a stable economic system in environmental conservation is providing the poor with an equal opportunity of having access to resources and claiming accountability and responsibility towards such resources and the

³⁵ R. Duncan, "Agricultural and Resource Economics and Economic Development in Aboriginal Communities," *The Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 47(3), 2003; B. Adhikari, *Property Rights and Natural Resource: Socio-Economics, Heterogeneity and Distributional Implications of Common Property Resource and Management*, UK: EEE Working Paper 3, Environmental Department, University of York, 2002.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ P. Collier, "The Political Economy of Natural Resources," *Social Research*, 77(4), 2010.

³⁸ B. Adhikari, *Property Rights and Natural Resources: Socio-Economics, Heterogeneity and Distributional Implications of Common Property Resource and Management*, UK: EEE Working Paper 3, Environmental Department, University of York, 2002.

environment at large.³⁹ Sustained economic growth, unbiased redistribution of natural resources and national wealth, and reduction of rural poverty are dependent on economic stability.⁴⁰ Partisan government policies, such as marginalizing the agriculture sector or neglecting local livelihoods, have been identified as chief contributors to poverty in the areas in question.⁴¹

The manner in which regulations are imposed has an impact on, not only the reception of such regulations and/or policies in communities, but also on the success of the mandates of such regulations. The success of achieving allocation efficiency of communal resources is dependent on respecting traditional agreements that communities have in place instead of disregarding the existence of indigenous property rights as well as resource use.⁴² A thorough understanding of the nature and functioning of local structures serves as a strong foundation for predicting the incentive shifts and responses to regulations and/or policies enforced by the government.

The plea and desire to secure indigenous and ancestral rights by residents and former residents of the Reserve reflects path dependency. The concept of 'path dependency' is used to describe the adaptation of historical experiences, behaviours and/or identities in a contemporary environment.⁴³ As argued by new institutional economists, initiating major institutional changes often results in reluctance of stakeholders to abandon

³⁹ R. Duncan, "Agricultural and Resource Economics and Economic Development in Aboriginal Communities," *The Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 47(3), 2003.

⁴⁰ P. Collier, "The Political Economy of Natural Resources," *Social Research*, 77(4), 2010.

⁴¹ Ibid; R. Duncan, "Agricultural and Resource Economics and Economic Development in Aboriginal Communities," *The Australian Journal of Agricultural and Resource Economics*, 47(3), 2003.

⁴² P.K. Madigele, "Efficiency of Common-Pool Resource Institutions: Focusing on Water Users Associations in South Africa," *Environment, Development and Sustainability*, 2017.

⁴³ Wolfgang Streeck and Kathleen Thelen, *Beyond Continuity: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies*, Oxford University Press, 2005.

what they deem as the status quo.⁴⁴ Path dependency usually results in power asymmetries because of embedded personal cultural interests that have to be satisfied simultaneously with performing the constitutional obligations purported by institutions of influence.⁴⁵

In light of the above, it is for the political economy to appreciate that past dynamics not only shape current conditions, but also define future responses of individuals. Therefore, the failure to acknowledge the set path of historical legacies will add further complexity insofar as land use conflicts are concerned. The need to incorporate historical ties to local natural resource use by the political economy in policy decisions can create resistance as in the case of residents of the CKGR. – The crafting and framing of conservation and land use objectives should display awareness of historical legacies and identities of residents and former residents of the CKGR.

Conclusion

The legal battles of residents and/or former residents of the CKGR against their relocation from the CKGR have attracted attention from scholars and activists from all over the world. While the government of Botswana claims that the relocations were done to safeguard the socio-economic welfare of the residents, the plea of the residents is that the involuntary relocation from their traditional and indigenous territories is both unfair and illegal. Despite the increasing recognition of multi-disciplinary research approaches to land use and natural resource conflicts, there is a significant research gap of seeing the CKGR land disputes through a multi-disciplinarity lens. This study merges law, economics and theology to provide an understanding of the land disputes between the government and CKGR residents. The study discusses that natural

⁴⁴ D.C. North, *Institutions, Institutional Change, and Economic Performance*, Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

⁴⁵ W. Streeck and K. Thelen, "Introduction: Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies," in W. Streeck, & K. Thelen, *Beyond Continuity. Institutional Change in Advanced Political Economies*, Oxford University Press, 2005; J. Sehring, "Path Dependencies and Institutional Bricolage in Post-Soviet Water Governance," *Water Alternatives*, 2(1), 2009.

resources do not belong not to the governments. The government is just a custodian of the natural resources which belong to the people. Moreover, disposing Basarwa from their land under the pretext of enabling them to access developments is wrong as the government should have brought the developments to the Basarwa. The political economy has failed to acknowledge the historical legacies and ties of the Basarwa to their traditional territories, thereby contributing to complexities of land-use patterns. The government should therefore not only respect traditional agreements that communities have in place as well as their historical path, but also pay regard to indigenous property use and rights.

Chapter 15: The Christian Missionaries' Messianic' Role in African Community Development. Whose Story, Which Lenses and Whose Voice?

Ruby Magosvongwe

Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine the conundrum and riddle surrounding the Christian missionaries' contribution towards African community development as perceived in and depicted through Lawrence Vambe's anthropological narrative of pioneer Christian missionaries' role in the displacement of the Chishawasha people of Southern Rhodesia in his book *An Ill-fated People* (1972).¹ In view of their perceived 'messianic' role as missionaries with a supposedly 'divine' task of relieving and redeeming their target African communities from the darkness of heathenism, poverty, and general 'backwardness,' by ushering in 'civilization,' 'Christianity' and 'modern commerce,' my discussion examines similar paradoxes and continuities as mirrored over thirty years later in Tsitsi Dangarembga's *The Book of Not*.² Development in this chapter is appreciated from an Afrocentric perspective, using the lenses, values and belief systems of the Shona indigenous African peoples of Southern Rhodesia as spelt out by Vambe.³

Vambe and Dangarembga's narratives are used here as case studies and representative samples that depict the plight of the African native and the envisioned prospects for sustainable development in both colonial and post-independence Zimbabwe, more so in the light of the UN millennium development goals and their emphasis on every human's right to

¹ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

² T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayeibia Clarke, 2006.

³ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

subsistence and life. In Zimbabwean terms, this is why land has always been critical as the inviolable primary subsistence resource, in addition to it being a social, spiritual, political, economic, cultural and economic resource. "People define themselves in terms of ancestry, religion, language, history, values, customs, and institutions,"⁴ and in the indigenous Shona worldview, these identity markers are all rooted in the land/soil (*ivhu/dhaga*), without which sustainable community development and environmental security cannot be achieved. With land at the centre of existence, it becomes admissible that the present discussion explores notions and perceptions of development of the African "native" in the western sense as purported by the early missionaries that took over Chishawasha as captured in Vambe's anthropological depictions.⁵ The discussion further examines development of the 'native' in the western sense using the Catholic Christian missionaries' 'messianic' role and philanthropies as exposed by Dangarembga's depictions.⁶ Central to Dangarembga's depictions, like Vambe's, are the violent psycho-emotional, intellectual, spiritual, material and cultural disruptions and violations caused by continual "resettlements" against the backdrop of successive anti-African political administrations, policies and agendas from Rhodesia till today.

As we globally focus more on the human right to subsistence, sustainable development and sustainable livelihoods, and secure futures for all in the 21st Century, it is hoped the critical examination of the two texts selected for this discussion, informing and feeding into the contemporary Zimbabwean Literature canon, may help to unravel some of the critical concerns undermining efforts towards sustainable development for the ordinary Zimbabwean. Dangarembga's and Vambe's selected texts cumulatively explore and expose some of the worrisome contradictions, inconsistencies, paradoxes, tensions, 'silences' and challenges without whose effective address, any talk about sustainable futures for all by the middle

⁴ P.S. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and a Re-making of the World Order*, London: The Free Press, 2002, p. 21.

⁵ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

⁶ T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayeibia Clarke, 2006.

of this millennium would remain empty political rhetoric. Ironically, undergirding these contradictions is the problematic 'messianic' and 'redemptive' role that the Catholic Christian missionaries continue to play on issues of social justice, land policy and practice in Zimbabwe's history, before independence and now, as depicted by the two selected writers' works.

Before delving into the main part of my discussion, it is prudent that I give the definitions of critical terms that will help in my appreciation of the so-called 'messianic role' that the early and later Christian missionaries played in 'developing' the 'natives' and lifting them from the fringes of existence, if I may refer to attitudes of condescension captured in references of Zimbabwe plunging back into the primordial dark abyss before the advent of the whites, with missionaries as a critical arm.⁷

Structure of the Discussion

My presentation will be in three parts. It firstly focuses on Lawrence Vambe's *An Ill-fated People* that explores the shameless helplessness of the inhabitants of Mashonganyika Village, Chishawasha, after the conquest by the British in 1896 and becoming an alien and servile people in a land that was once theirs. It is in this context that the Church's role is put under the spotlight. It is appreciated in the context of its perceived 'messianic' role to a people who once owned the land that was their mantle—*kushonga nyika* "with its many hills, valleys, meandering rivers and brooks, wide sweeping plains and balancing rocks" [and luscious vegetation]⁸ an almost Eden beauty—but have since been dispossessed of it and are subjected to live in "a poisoned atmosphere of their fatherland/[motherland]."⁹ In view of the tensions embedded in the tussles for land and domination, the discussion also casts itself forward to appreciate the continued role that Christian missionaries and their Churches play to evince social justice in subsistence and survival of those that were

⁷ E. Harrison, *Jambanja*, Harare: Maioio Publishers, 2006.

⁸ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. vii.

originally dispossessed to accommodate Rudyard Kipling's "The whiteman's burden"¹⁰ to superintend development over Southern Africa, Zimbabwe/Southern Rhodesia included.

Secondly, the chapter examines the role that the Church-run missions and educational institutions continue to play in empowering the black triumvirate—men, women and children—to build strong communities anchored on sustainable development and holistic livelihoods in pre- and post-independence Zimbabwe. The discussion draws its primary data from depictions in Tsitsi Dangarembga's *The Book of Not*¹¹ that was published more than 30 years after the publication of Lawrence Vambe's 1972 anthropological narrative that explores the predicament of the VaShawasha people from the inception of colonial rule and domination.¹² The discussion concludes by commenting on the invidious role that the Church plays in Zimbabwe under notions that its perceived role is to inspire and uphold restorative and redistributive social justice in a country mired with inconsistent and discriminatory economic and political policies transposed wholesale onto independent Zimbabwe. In the same stride, the discussion also explores the 'messianic' role that the missionaries are perceived to have carried, and continue to represent in redeeming the colonially ruined dignity, destiny and hope of the African

¹⁰ Rudyard Kipling is a famous British poet of the late 19th Century to the early 20th Century who is often dubbed the poet of the empire because of the verve with which he supported, and his writings continue to support, British imperial expansion and domination of the 'lesser' humans in the Third World and the colonies. "The Whiteman's Burden" is one famous poem of his that gives an example that expresses such convictions about Britain's perceived role to civilize, Christianize and develop the Third World because they believe Britain is a better race. Kipling refers to inhabitants of the Third World countries in that poem—"The Whiteman's Burden"—as half devils and half humans, hence the perceived inviolable mission and duty to spread white civilization and to develop the backward third world.

¹¹ T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayeibia Clarke, 2006.

¹² L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

people. It also examines their efforts to restore strong families and communities.

The Discussion-cum-Argument

Ezra Chitando argues that 'in the beginning was the land' when he views the early missionaries' role as depicted in Zimbabwean Literature across the languages and the racial divide.¹³ Every subject matter in Zimbabwean Literature, and indeed indigenous peoples' relations with the newcomers, gravitates around the centrality of the land. Chitando's assertion is not the first. Zimunya's *Those Years of Drought and Hunger* published more than two decades earlier similarly explores the same.¹⁴ Kahari's *The Search for Zimbabwean Identity and Ufuru*¹⁵ also takes up the same motifs. The point of departure between Zimunya and Kahari is that while they both examine the first published black-authored literature in English, Kahari openly declares that dispossessing a sovereign people of their land and traditions like the Rhodesians did was a *crime against humanity*. My discussion builds on these earlier publications.

Basing my views on the understanding of writing as activism, my discussion begins by acknowledging the role that the creative arts, Literature in particular, play in influencing attitudes and perceptions in society in general. The latter partly justifies my choice of texts for this presentation: *An Ill-fated People* by Lawrence Vambe and *The Book of Not* by Tsitsi Dangarembga respectively.¹⁶ My choice derives from the fact and conviction that rather than dealing with the issues of poverty eradication, sustainable livelihoods, sustainable development and secure futures for all in Zimbabwe, part of the solution lays in dealing with these latter

¹³ E. Chitando, "In the Beginning was the Land': The Appropriation of Religious Themes in Political Discourses in Zimbabwe," *Journal of the International African Institute*, vol. 75, no. 2, 2005.

¹⁴ M. Zimunya, *Those Years of Drought and Hunger*, Gweru: Mambo, 1982.

¹⁵ G.P. Kahari, *The Search for Zimbabwean Identity and Ufuru*, Gweru: Mambo, 2009.

¹⁶ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972; T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayeibia Clarke, 2006.

issues more from a causative level using lived experiences that the selected writers depict, rather than dwelling and expending resources fire-fighting symptomatic manifestations and tinkering on the surface of the deeper issues about life and how best it can be sustained. Rhetoric alone does not provide sustainable solutions.

That the two narratives are so apart does not quite matter. The selected black writers are separated by generations and gender, but have a deeper cause in common, namely to focus on and explore the brutish conditions under which the colonized Zimbabweans live and the thorny subject of land. They foreground the centrality of land in ensuring self-determination and forging sustainable livelihoods, socio-cultural unity, psycho-social, political, spiritual and environmental security. In essence then, land is a subsistence resource and a human right upon which most desirable forms of positive and sustainable development are premised. *An Ill-fated People* and *The Book of Not*¹⁷ deal with basic, concrete problems of colonial conquest and orchestrated land dispossession, and the resultant ripple effects of perennial and endemic poverty, hunger, and oppression of the 'little people',¹⁸ humiliation, and myths surrounding African docility and indolence. The writers' depictions, at the centre of which are the missionaries' activities in Zimbabwe, therefore become central in my examination of the livelihoods, security and welfare of the majority. The discussion takes advantage of how the incumbent communities' lived experiences, aspirations and visions intertwine with missionaries' involvement in policy-making and implementation, interrogating resultant misgivings about sustainable livelihoods in strong communities that must develop to their own satisfaction, then and now.

¹⁷ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

¹⁸ C. Amuta, *The Theory of African Literature: Implications for Criticism*, London: Zed Books, 1989, p. 155.

Re-centring Christian Missionaries' 'Messianic' Role in Community Development in Vambe's *An Ill-fated People* (1972)

Vambe's anthropological narrative gives the historical genesis of community underdevelopment of the Africans of Chishawasha, Mashongan-yika Village, whom I will use as a case study to reinforce the ongoing re-examination of what has to be done to re-establish tenets for sustainable development in African communities. Vambe opens the narrative with heartache:

Events in Africa change swiftly ... Like all other previous decisions [beginning with the 1894 Berlin Conference, the settlement reached] between the British Government and the Smith regime ... is between white men. The black majority was ignored ... what a colonial legacy for Britain to leave to the peoples of Africa! I hope history can prove me wrong.¹⁹

Vambe's fears, ironically, are transposed onto post-independence Zimbabwe, not only in view of the successive governments' policies and practices, but also concerning the Church and its 'messianic' role. The discussion re-casts this 'messianic' role through education institutions as shown by Dangarembga's depictions in *The Book of Not*.²⁰ The re-cast is not in any way meant to trivialize the contributions that the missionaries have made towards raising literacy levels in the communities. Yet, what literacy can supersede individuals' critical self-knowledge and critical self-history as the cornerstone to achievement of sustainable community development? Chivaura rightly argues:

The African worldview sees history as a living force which, like other arts, as p' Bitek (1986:46) says, is an integral part of culture carried, not in books, but inside the head, to enliven the entire body of the individual

¹⁹ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

²⁰ T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayeibia Clarke, 2006.

and society, in their everyday economic, social, political, religious and scientific endeavours.²¹

The ambivalences and contradictions about community development in Vambe's book rest on the collision paths that the two civilizations take: the African (Chishawasha), and the Western as represented by the missionaries. Vambe shows that the issues of black poverty, hunger, dispossession, dislocation, disruption, cultural denigration and violations, internal migration, and exclusions from accessing the primary subsistence resources have their basis in history and its representation. The Christian forces in Vambe's Chishawasha represent "criminal plunder of the weak by the strong."²² The Church set out to 'develop' a people through dispossessing them as follows:

- Instilling doubt in the elders as the anthropological sources of history and sources of memory as well as discrediting their oral forms of history. This undercut the authenticity of black accounts about their own experiences.
- Father Hartman, a Jesuit, went to the extent of advocating elimination of everyone above the age of 8 years so that instilling Christian education and values would be made easier. Father Hartman is celebrated in the Jesuit monumental symbols in Rhodesia-cum-Zimbabwe through Hartman House, the preparatory school to St George's College, and both are adjacent to State House in Harare.
- Missionaries' dispossession and taking charge of the indigenous Mashonganyika people's land reduced the inhabitants of Chishawasha to a state of sheepishness and timidity.²³ Vambe observes: "This total helpless fear did not exist in the Africans of my country before 1896. But after being utterly defeated on the field of battle, and subjected to every form of control, subtle and violent, the entire African population lapsed into a

²¹ V.G. Chivaura, "African Heritage: An Intangible Living Force," in Ruby Magosvongwe, Obert Mlambo and Eventhough Ndlovu (eds), *Africa's Intangible Heritage and Land: Emerging Perspectives*, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2016, pp. 1-5.

²² L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972, p. 18.

²³ Ibid.

state in which the passive instinct of self-preservation became predominant."²⁴ Even the language of interaction is equally violent and dehumanizing. Anyone who violated land-tax, hut and other taxes for instance is labelled 'skellum' (scoundrel in Afrikaans). Naming becomes the prerogative of the land owners, impliedly circumscribing the parameters of self-knowledge and self-knowing, including self-development. Development on their own terms was suddenly curtailed. This was *ngozi*, curse, calamity, bad luck, catastrophe for the African people.²⁵ The VaShawasha were subjected to innumerable insecurities, some of which remain deeply embedded in the systems transposed onto the post-independent state, much to the dissatisfaction and disparagement of the victims of the colonial dispensation.²⁶ Dangarembga takes this up in *The Book of Not*. Chigara argues that both whites and blacks must get re-education and re-orientation over the need for more equitable distribution of land and the blacks' rights to accessing the same as a primary subsistence resource, an impregnable right to human life and self-development.²⁷

- Jesuit missionaries imposed rules of Christian conduct on their tenants in Chishawasha,²⁸ practically *owning* the VaShawasha at Chishawasha Mission who were now serfs on their own land. Historically, and in practical terms, "land expropriation meant loss of sovereignty by the Africans. The close connection between land and life meant also that by losing land [to the missionaries at Chishawasha, the VaShawasha] lost a vital resource

²⁴ Ibid, p. 17.

²⁵ Ibid, p. 20.

²⁶ J. Muzondidya, "From Buoyancy to Crisis, 1980-1997," in B. Raftopolous and A. Mlambo (eds), *Becoming Zimbabwe*, Harare: Weaver Press, 2009; Z.W. Sadomba, *War Veterans in Zimbabwe's Revolution: Challenging Neo-Colonialism and Settler and International Capital*, London/Harare: James Currey/Weaver Press, 2011.

²⁷ B. Chigara, *Southern African Development Community Land Issues: Towards a New Sustainable Land Relations Policy*, London/New York: Routledge, 2012.

²⁸ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972, pp. 4-5.

to life."²⁹ Vambe's anthropological narrative here shows that as tenants/serfs, the people of Chishawasha were expected to abandon their family values, marital customs, traditions and practices materially and spiritually.³⁰ Yet, as a people, they have different perspectives about their values, beliefs, hopes and institutions, especially family and spiritual connectedness trans-generationally which are all rooted in the land.³¹ "White [and missionary] rule is an imposition, resented by a people who know they are self-sufficient and value their independence."³² Contrary to coercion by the newcomers and the missionaries, the Vashawasha believed "with [our] own spiritual and cultural heritage, our own country, language, paramount chief, tribal council and other indigenous institutions, we were quite capable of charting our own course. We did not need favours or guidance from the white man."³³

- It expected and demanded "blind obedience from black people who asked for nothing more than to be left alone to live their own lives and follow their God-given customs in peace."³⁴
- The religious regime at Chishawasha Mission with its priests, lay-brothers and nuns, teachers and agents of Christianity, psychologically breathes eternal damnation unless the subjugated peoples turn to Catholicism.
- It reinforced the abominations, the terror and the horrors of white tax regime, administration, and 'white civilization'³⁵ against African culture,

²⁹ M.B. Ramose, *African Philosophy through Ubuntu*, Harare: Mond Book Publishers, 2005, p. 6.

³⁰ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

³¹ R. Magosvongwe, *Land and Identity in Zimbabwean Fiction Writings in English from 2000 to 2010: A Critical Analysis*, D Phil, University of Cape Town, 2014.

³² L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 5.

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 28-29.

belief and value systems with consistent disregard of Africans as a people whose civilization puts the dignity and equality of the individual first and foremost.³⁶ The anthropological evidence that Vambe enumerates shows that the predicament of the people of Chishawasha is that the Church made them aliens in their own land from colonial onset, till today. "The Church owned the Chishawasha people ... the Church held the whip-hand in all the tribal affairs of the VaShawasha people in the Mission; it could, if it so wished, toss out of its lands any man, woman or family at any time for any reason at all. There was no right of appeal to anyone in any case of ejection or others of a similar kind."³⁷ Imprisoning the human mind using the new tutelage subtly turned the incumbents into beasts of burden. Ramose observes: "a man without reason is a beast in season."³⁸ The indelible link between freeing the human mind and "the liberation of the human being" can neither be ignored nor trivialized.³⁹ Free-thinking minds are a prerequisite to human capital for sustainable community development.

Because the Chishawasha Mission tenants/serfs were owned, they ceased to make decisions of any kind in their own right, including when to marry, the mode of acceptable marriage and when to procreate. For instance, if a couple wanted to have a baby, in spite of their customary marriage sanction, they needed the Priest's permission through a Church wedding before they could have children. Mbuya Madzidza's case of Mashonganyika Village and her snide remarks celebrating procreation before the missionary's sanction offer a ready example of how missionaries sowed confusion and left the family split on account of religious belief and practice. How could families split at the behest of the Church whose mandate was to develop, civilize and pacify them? Without family cohesion, what manner of development could take root? These are the gaps

³⁶ Ibid, p. 37.

³⁷ Ibid, p. 2.

³⁸ M.B. Ramose, *African Philosophy through Ubuntu*, Harare: Mond Book Publishers, 2005.

³⁹ Ibid.

and paradoxes that Vambe mourns.⁴⁰ Land embraces resources on and embedded in the geophysical piece of the earth.⁴¹ It symbolizes belonging in material and spiritual terms. With families divided along lines of religious faith and practice, strong communities and sustainable community development are blighted and curtailed. It is in this context that the Christian missionaries 'messianic' role comes under intense spotlight, especially their hidden hand that fuelled land expropriation and subjugation.

Even if the clock of history cannot be unwound, lessons can be gleaned from Vambe's anthropological narrative. The experiences give a practical definition of poverty and its root causes that undermine sustainable community development. It is deafening that the defining characteristics of perennial poverty among the villagers of Chishawasha, as a case study, are a culmination of deliberate systematic strategies calculated and enforced by both the missionaries and the colonial authorities, starting with the British South Africa Company, the 1923 Responsible Government, and beyond. Chitando rightly surmises that "the [western] regime projected itself as 'Christian' and [yet it was] protecting Western civilization" and interests tangential to sustainable African development.⁴²

Vambe further notes that the 1930s marked the turning point for the worse for Africans in Southern Rhodesia due to the effects of the worldwide depression which saw the colonial government enacting a plethora of discriminatory legislation further undermining the African people to ensure white survival. Compounding earlier grief enacted through the missionaries' grabbing of the best land for themselves at the expense of the locals, the Land Apportionment Act (1930) had given the most productive and best land to whites and reserved huge tracts of land for future

⁴⁰ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

⁴¹ B. Chigara, *Reconceiving Property Rights in the New Millennium: Towards a New Sustainable Land Relations Policy*, London: Routledge, 2012.

⁴² E. Chitando, "In the Beginning Was the Land': The Appropriation of Religious Themes in Political Discourses in Zimbabwe," *Journal of the International African Institute*, vol. 75, no. 2, 2005, citing Moyo, 1996, vii

white use despite the crowding of Africans in the Native Reserves.⁴³ Terence O. Ranger explores a similar predicament among the people of Mankoni in Eastern Zimbabwe.⁴⁴

Although the land was lost on paper, Africans continued to live on the land as sharecroppers. Africans were impoverished and, with the boom after the Second World War, they were evicted from the farms and in most cases lost their livestock through shrewd government enactments. The Land Husbandry Act of 1951 also exacerbated poverty levels in the reserves as Africans were told to destock, which in most cases saw them selling the excess cattle to whites for sick money or next to nothing.⁴⁵ In all these developments, missionaries did not raise an alarm at such abuses but in cahoots with the colonial regime they pretended to give false comfort while reading the Bible for people to accept the abuse and status quo in the fatalistic-deterministic paradigm.

In terms of maize production, through the Maize Control Act (1934) African maize was sold at a lower price and at the local pool, while white-produced maize was sold at the export pool which had more money.⁴⁶ The money that Africans were deprived of was used to support white farmers. In terms of industrial relations, the Industrial and Conciliation Act (1934) also dealt a blow to prospects of skilled Africans as it excluded them from the definition of an employee and, in the process, could not be regarded as skilled workers.⁴⁷ Whites who did the same work as Africans were given more money. Scholarship on the Zimbabwean experience, then, should interrogate lived historical experiences in their explication of poverty and measures that must be adopted to engender, nurture and monitor sustainable community development and sustainable futures for all.

⁴³ Land Apportionment Act, 1930.

⁴⁴ Terrence O. Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study*, Oxford: James Currey, 1985.

⁴⁵ The Land Husbandry Act, 1951.

⁴⁶ Maize Control Act, 1934.

⁴⁷ Industrial and Conciliation Act, 1934.

The legacy of perennial poverty and vulnerable livelihoods amongst the African landless majority lives on. In 1999, the Jesuits, an Order of the Catholic Church, displaced people of Chishawasha from Manresa and Chishawasha Hills to private land developers and sold the land in reaction to the Government's 1992 Compulsory Land Acquisition Act. The evictees are now permanent squatters on their own land, having been forcibly ejected to make way for so-called urban development. The Government looked aside. In fact, it came to the aid of the Church, headed by the missionaries. The Catholic mission 'owners' of this original Chishawasha Valley sought and enjoyed the services of the messenger of court to have their former tenants evicted after living on that land for generations. Even the Catholic Commission for Justice that is a watchdog critical of the Government on human rights abuses, has remained tight-lipped over this issue that could be one among many. Ironically, it is claimed that some of the evictees had worked for the Mission for generations. To date, there is no trace of where these families were officially resettled. Neither is there any record of where and how the land sale proceeds were ploughed back to develop the evicted communities. What stands today as evidence of 'development' are the plush suburbs of Chishawasha Hills and Manresa Park owned by the black upper middle class.

The only Chishawasha people who may now remain resident on their original lands are the ones interred under the hills, that is if their remains survived the bulldozers that cleared the land for the affluent and newly 'rich' Africans now boasting of owning title deeds to both the land and glamorous mansions. If Church development milks profits from land sales at the expense of its purported original black flock and rightful owners of the land, whose agenda are they serving? To this end, the issue of land and its access remains a point of friction between the historically-conscious traditional leaders and the Church.⁴⁸ Mtetwa asserts that "the majority of mission stations in Zimbabwe were built on land that was donated by the British South Africa Company."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

⁴⁹ A. Mtetwa, "'Fishers of Land!' Missionary Church and Land in Zimbabwe: An Afrocentric Biblical Philosophy of Justice in Zimbabwe;" in: Z.

Apart from benefiting directly from conquest and massacre of the original inhabitants and owners of the land by the white colonial settlers, there is no other evidence that shows how the missionaries, who are now esteemed land developers in Zimbabwe and owners of multi-million dollar properties, obtained the land in the first place. Mtetwa commenting on the direct involvement of the Christian missionaries in land expropriation cites the examples of Roman Catholic and Anglican priests "whose main role was to give spiritual and moral sanction to the colonization and massacre of the indigenous people ... they killed local inhabitants in their endeavour to take African land and subdue survivors."⁵⁰

The continuous removals of Africans from their traditional home, have also seen the Church accessing land unconditionally from the State across the administrations. The same missionaries mandated with a 'messianic' role have been bystanders as experiences show that the Church has never taken its prophetic position regarding land dispossession of the blacks in Zimbabwe. Ironically, the same Bible that they use to justify their missionary mandate to make converts and disciples of all nations traces the Israeli fight for their right to land. There is even a recorded case of a Jezreelite, Naboth, who vowed to die for his ancestors' land as heritage despite the lucrative substitutes that the King had offered him (1 Kings 21). Yet, in the case of the people of Chishawasha, as evidenced from colonial conquest till now, the Church continues working in complicity with successive administrations to disempower its would-be converts. To overturn this unsavoury trend, citing Ajibolosoo, Chitando and Mashiri rightly argue that on issues to do with land and sustainable African development, 'spiritual capital' becomes a prerequisite.⁵¹

Makwavarara, R. Magosvongwe and O. Mlambo (eds), *Dialoguing Land and Indigenization in Zimbabwe and other Developing Countries: Emerging Perspectives*, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2015, pp. 144.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ E. Chitando and P. Mashiri, "Africa Yedu!" [Our Africa]: African Initiated Church Ideology, Land and Indigenization in Zimbabwe," in Z. Makwavarara, R. Magosvongwe and O. Mlambo (eds), *Dialoguing Land and Indigenization in Zimbabwe and other Developing Countries: Emerging Perspectives*, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2015, pp. 91-104.

Supporting indigenous land reform to empower the disenfranchised blacks, Chitando and Mashiri further argue that, "it is vital for Africans to be ideologically equipped in order to exercise their agency."⁵² Politically and culturally, this potent issue of land and sustainable African development has never been off the agenda since 1896.⁵³ At this juncture, we now give a cursory survey of the same missionaries 'messianic' role to develop Africans through education institutions as depicted by Dangarembga's *The Book of Not* where the writer explores black female emancipation and intellectual development through the Rhodesian Roman Catholic Young Ladies' College of the Sacred Heart.

The story opens with the ongoing 1970s Black Zimbabwean armed liberation struggle to reclaim African land, dignity and identity, with Tambudzai failing to fit into her rural home and war-torn village at the *morari*.⁵⁴ "The rest of the novel dwells on Tambudzai's vain travails to fit into Rhodesian institutions beginning with Sacred Heart, Twiss Hostel and Steers, Darcy and MacPedi Advertising Agency where racism is institutionalized."⁵⁵ Tambudzai, the narrator and chief protagonist, reconfigures "Rhodesia's diverse antagonistic freedoms"⁵⁶ as typified in the

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ P. Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire: 1890-1980*, Alberton, S.A.: Galago Books, 2010, p. 512.

⁵⁴ *Morari* also *pungwe* or war night-time rallies held by guerrillas during Zimbabwe's War of Liberation in the 1970s. Guerrilla fighters or *vanamukoma* or the Elder Siblings held these for consciousness raising and politicization of the masses (T. Presler, *Transfigured Night: Mission and Culture in Zimbabwe's Vigil Movement*, Pretoria: UNISA Press, 2000, p. 65-66). – *Pungwes* from 2000 are resistance meetings of protracted mobilization and political education of the marginalized people led mainly by War Veterans. In some cases, *pungwes* resurfaced as street demonstrations, *biras*, mobilization for housing co-operatives and informal sector development (Z.W. Sadomba, *War Veterans in Zimbabwe's Revolution: Challenging Neo-Colonialism and Settler and International Capital*, London/Harare: James Currey/Weaver Press, 2011, p. 230).

⁵⁵ T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayebia Clarke, 2006.

⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 166

apparent rifts between "the Rhodesians and the guerrillas."⁵⁷ Because of cultural dislocation arising from "absence of anchoring"⁵⁸ due to Western-based education influences of the mission, Tambudzai hates her rural background⁵⁹ which she dismisses as "moribund"⁶⁰ and "nothingness."⁶¹ She strives to excel and gain recognition from the Rhodesian education system, and feels revulsion at being linked in any way to the uneducated Mai and Netsai. Sacred Heart being a miniature and epitome of Rhodesia, Tambudzai exposes the racism and hatred for black presence that is endemic throughout the country's institutions. "The dots of" African girls at Sacred Heart reside in the "African dormitory"⁶² and are forbidden from using the same ablution facilities as the white girls. With what she conceives as infinite possibilities in her academic circumstances at Sacred Heart,⁶³ she believes Sacred Heart education would rescue her from being "a receptacle of contempt like the gardeners, maids, cook boys and terrorists"⁶⁴ and her people's lives of "commonality."⁶⁵ Despite her efforts to be accommodated among the white community, she is constantly reminded to be grateful and consider herself lucky to be enrolled at the College where she is privileged to acquire "*Unhu*,"⁶⁶ that profound knowledge of being".⁶⁷ Despite excelling in her studies, Tambudzai is

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 181.

⁵⁸ Ibid, p. 9.

⁵⁹ Ibid, p. 9

⁶⁰ Ibid, p. 91.

⁶¹ Ibid, p. 9.

⁶² T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayeibia Clarke, 2006, p. 62-63.

⁶³ Ibid, p. 82.

⁶⁴ Ibid, p. 114.

⁶⁵ Ibid, p. 211.

⁶⁶ Focusing on Shona Philosophy of Unhu/Hunhu, R. Magosvongwe, "Shona Philosophy of *Unhu/Hunhu* and its Onomastics in Selected Fictional Narratives," *Journal of the African Literature Association*, vol. 10 (2), 2017, argues that unhu/humaneness and land in the Shona worldview cannot be divested from each other as they have a labyrinthine connectivity in defining and conceptualizing indigenous Shona identity and destiny.

⁶⁷ T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayeibia Clarke, 2006, p. 102.

denied the award for the best "O" Level results that goes to Tracey Stevenson, – a "well-rounded human being,"⁶⁸ subjecting Tambudzai to perceive herself "worth nothing."⁶⁹ Tambudzai recoils from challenging Sacred Heart, equating the problem to "a scale of struggle similar to David and Goliath."⁷⁰ Ironically, the basis of her *unhu* becomes dysfunctional. The resulting pain makes her search for the meaning of *unhu*. She does her "A" Level science studies by proxy. Being an African, she is barred from using Rhodesian facilities at Umtali Boys High, a government institution. She gets low points that see her studying Sociology at the University of Zimbabwe, much to her utter disappointment and that of her benefactors, Babamukuru and Maiguru.⁷¹

Through Tambudzai, the chief protagonist, Dangarembga explores Roman Catholic nuns' complicity with the colonial administration to intellectually enslave what the leading African-American thinker, Du Bois would call 'the talented tenth' among the blacks that could be absorbed in these religious-run education institutions. Pertinent points about the Roman Catholic nuns' administration at Sacred Heart are worth noting:

1. Africans are boy drivers, boy messengers, "gardeners, maids [nannies], cook boys and terrorists"⁷² and are not perceived as "well-rounded human being[s],"⁷³ leading lives of "commonality"⁷⁴ and therefore "worth nothing."⁷⁵ The Africans end up with a deep-seated self-loathing and hatred for the other.⁷⁶ A

⁶⁸ Ibid, p. 155.

⁶⁹ Ibid, p. 157.

⁷⁰ Ibid, pp. 163-164.

⁷¹ Synopsis of T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayebia Clarke, 2006, taken from R. Magosvongwe, *Land and Identity in Zimbabwean Fiction Writings in English from 2000 to 2010: A Critical Analysis*, D Phil, University of Cape Town, 2014.

⁷² T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayebia Clarke, 2006, p. 114.

⁷³ Ibid, p. 155.

⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 211.

⁷⁵ Ibid, p. 157.

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.110.

tenuously erroneous foundation is set-up for African sustainable development as they are psychologically subjected to live in the shadow of those that are racially perceived as superior, and therefore 'big brothers' who should sanction and monitor development projects, a tragedy that continues to split the so-called Zimbabwean intelligentsia till today. Subtly, the latter renders Africans puerile and infantile as embedded in the prefixing or suffixing 'boy' terms that the white administration, including the nuns, use to describe them.

2. The nuns uphold the quarter system set up by the settler government, making them accomplices in the disempowerment process.
3. Only six African girls are enrolled, but their presence is deeply resented. With such exclusionary approaches to education, only the rich, the highly influential in missionary-run institutions, or those learning on scholarships are accommodated and enrolled.
4. The nuns at Sacred Heart work in cahoots with the colonial forces against the black 'terrorists'/insurgents from Mozambique. And terrorist is any African who consciously fights for restoration of land and black dignity. In fact, whole families and villages are massacred on account of being terrorists. Anyone representing views contrary to, and opposing white rule, is castigated as terrorist, and must be killed.⁷⁷ Ntombi cynically calls them "Masters of Life ... Doctors of Life".⁷⁸ Yet, "what they are is doctors of death."⁷⁹ This observation has remained metaphorically invidious.
5. None of the girls make anything of their lives, having been pushed into the traditional profession of teaching etc. Tambudzai tries the sciences at A Level, but is barred from classes because racially she belongs with the 'terrorists'. This practically sets the

⁷⁷ T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayeibia Clarke, 2006, p. 172.

⁷⁸ Ibid, p. 172.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

parameters that black intellectuals were designed to observe, curtailing the requisite intellectual basis for sustainable African development. Even when Tambudzai eventually goes into teaching, she is not committed at all because of the initial loathing instilled against professions like teaching that she only takes as a last resort: "I cannot say what happened to the classes I taught, since I was not interested."⁸⁰ The genesis of black loathing is traceable to Sacred Heart. Ironically, 'sacred heart' stands in stark contrast to the redemptive and leadership role that the nuns must carry.

6. Just like Twiss Hostel where Tambudzai eventually finds accommodation during her stint at the advertising agency, right of admission into missionary-run schools (and white-run institutions) is generally reserved, showing exclusivism as far as access to the best intellectual, material, and economic resources for education and development are concerned. This has remained a sad truth in Zimbabwe to this day, with exclusivist private schools continuously established to cater only for the rich, who in turn will take over leadership across the board.

Nevertheless, despite the numerous grey acts characterizing the missionaries' sophistry and perceived misdemeanours, many lessons can still be gleaned from the experiences and opportunities in order to lay a more solid foundation for sustainable community development and sustainable livelihoods in order to eradicate perennial poverty in most black communities. For more sustainable, more inclusive development, as well as more sustainable livelihoods and secure futures for all, "would it not be wise for the [Africans/Zimbabweans] themselves to read a few books and do a little thinking for themselves [and keeping on pushing instead of being bystanders to issues driving their own destinies]?"⁸¹

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 196.

⁸¹ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The World and Africa: An Inquiry into the Part which Africa has Played in World History*, New York: International Publishers, 2007, p. 338.

Conclusion

I argue that if anyone touches a person's well-being, their wealth and security, or the source of that threesome principal which is land, pushing the incumbent into serfdom, the perpetrator would have touched a raw nerve and should brace for war, literally. Claims of docility of the conquered African slaves and colonial subjects over the foregoing aspects central to their survival are therefore empty myths as history has repeatedly shown,⁸² including the depictions given above. In this regard, Zimbabwean lived experiences have repeatedly shown to be no less different from experiences from elsewhere around the globe. Apart from land, there is no livelihood, dignity, identity, selfhood, security in all their multifaceted nature, and a destiny to talk about.⁸³ To this end, development in the Zimbabwean context is predicated on, and closely intertwined with land, its access and ownership. Poverty is similarly perceived.

Land ownership also points to accessing and utilizing the sub-earth resources that, in conjunction with other material resources, cumulatively add to the value of lives as people work these resources for their security, sustenance and enjoyment. In the context of Zimbabwe, then, poverty and land have a close traceable nexus. Whoever owns the land decides which practices, values and principles are to be followed in governing relationships with self, others and the environment. Thus, the backdrop against which this chapter analyzes and explores the 'messianic' role of Christian missionaries in land dispossession, African removals, land tenure systems and community development in Zimbabwe is depicted in Lawrence Vambe's *An Ill-fated People* (1972)⁸⁴ and Tsitsi

⁸² W.E.B. Du Bois, *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil*, Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1999; Terrence Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97*, London: Heinemann, 1967; Z.W. Sadomba, *War Veterans in Zimbabwe's Revolution: Challenging Neo-Colonialism and Settler and International Capital*, London/Harare: James Currey/ Weaver Press, 2011.

⁸³ P. Abrahams, *The Black Experience in the 20th Century*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000; M.B. Ramose, *African Philosophy through Ubuntu*, Harare: Mond Book Publishers, 2005.

⁸⁴ L. Vambe, *An Ill-fated People: Zimbabwe before and after Rhodes*, London: Heinemann, 1972.

Dangarembga's *The Book of Not* (2006).⁸⁵ It goes without saying that till the land redistribution of the early 1980s and 2000 and beyond, demographics inviolably reinforce the historic land apartheid whose cumulative and spiral effects still play out in property ownership, settlement and poverty patterns associated with most communities in Zimbabwe today.

That missionaries have remained silent over these injustices shows their complicity in being 'fishers of land and not fishers of man',⁸⁶ casting doubt on how genuine they have been in their messianic role and in alleviating the poor from perpetual endemic poverty originally sounded by the death knell of colonial domination and its apartheid land policies. If the depictions of the Catholic missionaries above are anything to go by, the missionaries' role was never 'messianic', but to under-develop the African native and turn him into a beast in season, expendable and exploitable. I conclude my discussion on the logicity of missionaries inflicting bondage on the one hand while purporting to be on a mission to liberate and develop the African on the other hand. If they are advocates of liberation ethics, of which their mission should make them ardent disciples, their presence and role in Zimbabwean land policies and systems of development projects more their oddities than their messianic role:

It is impossible logically to dismiss consistent opposition to one social evil—war—as "ideological" and at the same time claim that principled opposition to another social evil—racial segregation—is non-ideological.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ T. Dangarembga, *The Book of Not*, London: Ayeibia Clarke, 2006.

⁸⁶ A. Mtetwa, "Fishers of Land!" Missionary Church and Land in Zimbabwe: An Afrocentric Biblical Philosophy of Justice in Zimbabwe," in: A. Makwavarara, R. Magosvongwe and O. Mlambo (eds), *Dialoguing Land and Indigenization in Zimbabwe and Other Developing Countries: Emerging Perspectives*, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 2015.

⁸⁷ J.M. Swomley, *Liberation Ethics*, New York/London: Macmillan, 1972, p. 30.

Chapter 16: The Role of Capernaum Trust in Promoting Quality Education in Zimbabwe

Clemence Makamure and Vengesai Chimininge

Introduction

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section has to do with background information about the role of Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) in complimenting governments in development work. This is followed by an explanation of the role of FBOs in the education sector in Zimbabwe basing on the information published by different authors. The third section outlines the efforts of the Capernaum Trust to promote quality education in Zimbabwe. The last section examines the challenges faced by Capernaum Trust in implementing its programmes.

Faith Based Organizations and Development: The Global Picture

There is a growing recognition of the activities of Faith Based Organizations (FBOs) in their contributions to development in developed and developing countries. This is why the Executive Orders of Presidents George Bush of 29 January 2001 and Barack Obama of 5 February 2009 allowed the various legislations and executive orders to increase the access of FBOs to state funding and recognized their indispensability in meeting the needs of poor Americans and distressed neighbourhoods. For Obama the Federal Government can preserve these fundamental commitments while empowering faith-based and neighborhood organizations to deliver vital services in the communities, from providing mentors and tutors to school children to giving ex-offenders a second chance at work and a responsible life to ensuring that families are fed. In her report on FBOs and Education for Sustainability, Tucker argues that religions have always helped to shape civilizations and cultures through

their stories, symbols, rituals and ethics.¹ Faith-based traditions provide sustaining visions and values to shape our emerging planetary civilization, acting as “midwives” for the birth of planetary awareness and inter-generational responsibility. Tucker further argues that faith-based traditions add a broader, deeper and necessary dimension to the usually more technical and pragmatic focus of sustainable development.² Tucker points out that the world’s religions can play a major role in caring for future generations, nurturing bioregional cultures and local knowledge.³ Ranchor supports Tucker by arguing that religions invented education.⁴ For him, FBOs play an essential role in education for sustainability in most parts of Europe by helping to tap into cosmologies, values, symbols, rituals and celebrations that can inspire our journey toward a sustainable and life-enhancing world.

Littlefield examined the impact of religion and Faith-Based Organizations on the lives of low income families in Marion County Indiana.⁵ Using a representative sample of 285 churches in Marion County, Littlefield investigated the relationship between race and social service provision and the effects on low income communities. In his study, he discovered that race was a significant hindrance factor in social service delivery.⁶ This was so because African American FBOs were providing more economic and self-help services which benefited the poor than white FBOs. This chapter also uses a case study to investigate how Capernaum

¹ J. Pigem, UNESCOCAT Report on Faith-Based Organizations and Education for Sustainability Report of the International Experts’ Workshop Held in Barcelona from 22nd to 24th March 2007, Organized by Centre UNESCO de Catalunya, 2007.

² Ibid, p. 18.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ranchor cited in J. Pigem, UNESCOCAT Report on Faith-Based Organizations and Education for Sustainability Report of the International Experts’ Workshop Held in Barcelona from 22nd to 24th March 2007 Organized by Centre UNESCO de Catalunya, 2007.

⁵ M.B. Littlefield, *The Impact of Religion and Faith-Based Organizations on the Lives of Low-Income Families*, National Poverty Center Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy: University of Michigan, 2010.

⁶ Ibid.

Trust identifies the beneficiaries of its programmes as well as to assess its impact in the case under study.

Olarinmoye looked at the role of FBOs in development in Nigeria.⁷ For him the failure of development as expressed in the high level of poverty in African states and the consequent emphasis of bilateral and multilateral aid agencies on participatory development and decentralization has brought to the fore the role of NGOs, of which Faith-based organizations are among the most useful, in the development process in Africa. He discovered that not much is known about FBOs and their development activities in Nigeria. Olarinmoye further discovered that though widely present and acknowledged as important actors and providers of essential development services such as education, health and conflict resolution in Africa, FBOs and their activities are treated with a lot of caution both by the state they are supposed to be assisting and by external aid agencies.

Faith Based Organizations and Education in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has diverse civil society groups which include faith-based organizations. Examples of FBOs operating in Zimbabwe include, among others, Evangelical Fellowship of Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Council of Churches, Christian Care, World Vision International, Capernaum Trust and many others. Zigomo used a community based approach to sustainable development to measure the impact of FBOs in promoting developmental projects in Zimbabwe.⁸ Specifically, he examined the role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in rebuilding Zimbabwe and he discovered that, though civil society should theoretically remain non-partisan, in reality Zimbabwean civic groups have demonstrated some partisan behaviour, as they have remained divided and fragmented along political, ideological and tribal lines causing them to be disorganized and ineffective. Katema adds that Zimbabwean CSOs have become an extension or

⁷ O. Olarinmoye, "Faith-Based Organizations and Development: Prospects and Constraints," *Transformation: An International Journal of Holistic Mission Studies*, Sage, 2012.

⁸ K. Zigomo, "A Community-Based Approach to Sustainable Development: The Role of Civil Society in Rebuilding Zimbabwe," *Zimbabwe Institute*, Harare, 2012.

a product of the extremely polarized environment they operate in and have demonstrated much polarity in their relations with one another.⁹ Uncoordinated efforts and the failure to unite against common societal ills such as poverty and the general lack of national development, have weakened both individual and collective efforts of Zimbabwean CSOs by reducing their capacity and effectiveness in being agents of economic and social transformation for the nation.

Mapolisa wrote an article on the contribution of the Forum for African Women Educationists in Zimbabwe (FAWEZ) on the dropouts in Gwanda District.¹⁰ The study was evaluating a programme done to help those students who were already dropouts. This chapter is going to examine different strategies used by Capernaum Trust in providing quality education to orphans in Zimbabwe.

Lentfer examines the marginalization of CBOs by development actors in Zimbabwe.¹¹ He argues that talk about the importance of faith based organizations has assumed some currency in development circles in Zimbabwe precisely because of the prevailing socio-economic challenges and increasing donor fatigue. For this reason, Lentfer discovered that some donor organizations began experimenting working with local FBOs and Community Based Organizations (CBOs). This was due to the perception that these organizations provide a more direct route to their target beneficiaries at the grassroots. At the same time, local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) began emphasizing working with and through FBOs as part of their core strategy. These developments seemed to indicate an enhanced place for FBOs and CBOs in development in general, but especially in community development. This being the case,

⁹ Katema, "A Community-Based Approach to Sustainable Development: The Role of Civil Society in Rebuilding Zimbabwe," Zimbabwe Institute, *Research Intern*, 2011, p. 47.

¹⁰ Mapolisa, "Forum for African Women Educationalists," *FAWE Report*, Harare, 2008.

¹¹ J. Lentfer, "The Marginalization of CBOs by Development Actors: A Perspective from Zimbabwe," 2011, 23.3.2017.

this study is going to assess the impact of FBOs in supporting orphans in their educational endeavors in Harare.

Furthermore, Maruta of the Southern Institute of Peace-building and Development in Zimbabwe has conducted research about the role of community-based organizations (CBOs) including the FBOs in community development and the nature of their operating environment.¹² He suggests the need for a paradigm shift among development actors in favour of FBOs and CBOs, and for these to build their capacities in critical areas of leadership and management. He discovered that statements from the field research underscore the centrality of CBOs in community development in Zimbabwe. He indicates that one of his respondents who works for a large regional development organization with extensive operations in Zimbabwe argued that CBOs are critical for grassroots mobilization and coordination of beneficiaries. For Maruta, CBOs are the interface of the network of their membership, the general public and the communities where they operate.

Capernaum Trust

Capernaum Trust is a Christian organization which was established in 1996 by Dr Strive Masiyiwa and Deaconess Tsitsi Masiyiwa to give assistance to children who are disadvantaged by virtue of the fact that the main breadwinner in the immediate family unit is deceased,¹³ out of the Patrons' passion for the gospel and vision to see the nation prospering. With the alarming rate of 10,000 child prostitutes in Johannesburg alone (October 2012), "The House Fellowship" in Berea (Johannesburg) was launched. The House is a shelter working with the sexually abused and runaway girl child. This organization is a social responsibility arm of Econet Wireless that assists orphaned and severely disadvantaged

¹² Samuel Maruta, Southern Institute of Peace-building and Development in Zimbabwe Report, 2013.

¹³ The Capernaum website states that *Capernaum Trust International* (CTI) was established in South Africa in 2003.

children. At the moment Capernaum Trust is operating in South Africa, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Burundi.¹⁴

Its vision is to transform the lives of orphaned children into ‘History Makers’ through education, training and realization of their God-given purpose. According to Gandiya, the Managing Director of Capernaum Trust Zimbabwe, “Once the children join the Capernaum Trust family we affectionately call them ‘History Makers.’

Masiyiwa argues that “as a Christian organization, our intervention model targets the transformation of the History Makers in Spirit, Soul and Body with the Word of God.”¹⁵ The Trust believes that the Word of God works and is effective in the renewing of the mind, causing the body and the soul to align with God’s plans. Evangelism and spiritual empowerment is therefore a key element in their operations.¹⁶

This chapter will assesses the strengths and weaknesses of these programmes towards orphan education in Zimbabwe and discuss the criteria used by Capernaum Trust in selecting beneficiaries for their programmes as well as evaluating the extent to which these programmes achieve what they intend to achieve, thereby contributing knowledge to development practitioners and social researchers.

Capernaum Trust Programmes

There are several Capernaum Trust programmes directed to orphans in both primary and secondary schools in Zimbabwe. These programmes include talent management; medical support; psychosocial support; leadership and development; technology and innovation (e-learning); history makers’ alumni; higher life clubs; nutritional packs; resource centers and libraries; child welfare and support; empowerment through evangelism and scholarship management.

¹⁴ In Burundi the Capernaum Trust reaches 57 schools with 430 orphan students in primary and secondary schools and 58 students in tertiary institutions (E. Chitsungo, *Capernaum Trust Report*, Harare: Econet Wireless, 2012).

¹⁵ S. Masiyiwa, *Capernaum Trust Report*. Harare: Econet Wireless, 1999.

¹⁶ S. Masiyiwa, *Capernaum Trust Report*, Harare: Econet Wireless, 2012.

The Capernaum Trust's interventions in schools in Zimbabwe include assisting the children with education scholarships which cover school fees, levies and other related costs needed at school or college, equipping with spiritual, social and life skills training including career guidance, assisting critically needy History Makers with food packs and medical assistance, establishing resource centres and libraries. The centres provide access to academic and spiritual books and internet facilities nationwide.¹⁷

In Zimbabwe Capernaum Trust works with over 41,000 orphaned children around the country in an effort to raise an army of leaders on a mission to transform the continent of Africa and the World at large.¹⁸

Selection Criteria Used to Identify Beneficiaries

Asked on the selection criteria used by Capernaum Trust in identifying its beneficiaries, Capernaum officials at Westgate indicated that they are the ones responsible for selection. This was supported by the school heads and senior teachers in the schools that are benefiting from the Trust, and school heads and class teachers are involved in the identification of some of the beneficiaries as they make recommendations.

The beneficiaries should be: orphaned children who have lost one or both parents, orphaned children who have lost a breadwinner as well as disadvantaged children with both parents but who are old and unable to fend for the children. However, the last category comprises less than 3% of the overall group of children receiving help from Capernaum Trust.¹⁹

The selection criteria takes cognizance of the fact that the applicants must be orphaned and disadvantaged children, applicants must be less than 21 years unless recommended by the Board of Trustees or Patrons. Scholarships are restricted to day and boarding government, non-government and mission schools in Zimbabwe. The Scholarship Programme does not

¹⁷ *Capernaum Trust Report*, 1996, p. 1; S. Masiyiwa, *Capernaum Trust Report*, Harare: Econet Wireless, 2012; F. Gandiya, *Capernaum Trust Report*, Harare: Econet Wireless, 2013.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Capernaum Trust General Manager's Report, January 2014.

sponsor children undertaking their studies outside Zimbabwe unless authorized by the Patrons and the scholarship is valid until the student attains a tertiary qualification.

The following documentation is required: An application should be accompanied by certified copies of the applicant's certified birth certificate, deceased parent's or guardian's certified death certificate, school invoice and banking details showing the amount of fees to be paid, an affidavit in case of missing or no documents. It should be noted that where the beneficiary does not have the deceased's death certificate, a letter from the school authorities or local leadership to confirm the child's orphanhood will suffice.

However, one school head raised a concern that "we think as a school we need to be involved since some of the students who are included in the programme are not serious about school work, while some of the students who are rejected during the selection are students with a high potential."

Assistance Offered to the Beneficiaries

The Capernaum Trust offers various forms of assistance to its beneficiaries ranging from payment of levy, school fees, examination fees and other resources which are critical in teaching and learning.

Provision of Levy, Examination and Boarding Fees

Capernaum Trust provides levy, examination and boarding fees to different orphaned students in many secondary schools in Zimbabwe. We found that in Harare Metropolitan, Capernaum provides school levy and examination fees to orphans at schools like Mufakose High, Mabelreign High, Mt Pleasant High, Hatfield High and many others. For boarding fees Capernaum helps many students in different schools in Zimbabwe which include, Lundi Mission, Chibi Mission, Berejena Mission, St Francis of Assisi, St Antony, just to mention a few.

Provision of Uniforms

In an effort to improve the quality of education to orphans and vulnerable children in Zimbabwe, Capernaum Trust also provides school uniforms.

The Capernaum Trust provides three sets of uniforms for its beneficiaries per term which include shoes, socks, shirts, shorts and trousers. This implies that each student gets nine sets of uniforms per year. The provision of uniforms to orphans and vulnerable children makes them feel at par with their peers. This makes them also not shy to participate in class and mix with students from well to do families.

Provision of Food Stuffs

The other role played by Capernaum trust to promote quality education in Zimbabwe is the provision of food stuffs. For students in secondary schools, Capernaum Trust provides food stuffs like mealie meal, cooking oil, beans, sugar and tea leaves. They ensure that their beneficiaries have a minimum of two basic meals per day. The aim of Capernaum Trust is to make sure that their beneficiaries do not lack food or show that they are not at the same level with other students with either one or both of their parents. It is their assumption that some students underperform because they are failing to get enough food at home. The food stuffs are given to the beneficiaries' guardians; in the case of orphans who stay on their own, the food stuffs are given to the orphans themselves.

Provision of Blankets and Casual Wear

Capernaum Trust provides blankets to their beneficiaries in both boarding and day schools in Zimbabwe. The blankets are given once a year, casual wear two times a year. Interviews with the beneficiaries indicated that they really appreciate the help they get from Capernaum Trust. One of the beneficiaries said, "if it was not for Capernaum Trust, I could not have been going to school. I look presentable at school and even when I am home because of their help. They should continue helping orphans and vulnerable children to go to school and earn a living."

Provision of Spiritual Services

Apart from helping orphans and vulnerable children in attaining quality education, Capernaum Trust also provides some spiritual services through prayers, bible studies and Christian counselling. In schools this is done through Scripture Union gatherings and other religious forums.

It is through such activities that Capernaum Trust tries to ensure that they instill good moral values in their beneficiaries. The move is twofold. On the one hand it is meant to provide good morals to ensure that the beneficiaries become good citizens and on the other hand the teachings are meant to ensure that the beneficiaries concentrate on school work so as to upgrade their living standards.

Challenges Faced

The interviewees also indicated that there are some challenges faced by both secondary schools and Capernaum Trust. All the school heads indicated that one of the challenges is that schools are not involved in the selection of beneficiaries. The problems that arise is that some of those in great need are not included in Capernaum Trust programmes. So at times there are some conflicts between the school authorities and Capernaum Trust officials. Further to this challenge, there are some incidences of late payment of levy, boarding fees and examination fees. On the other side Capernaum officials indicated that schools want to be involved in the internal affairs of Capernaum Trust especially on selection of the beneficiaries.

The other challenge is favouritism in the recommendations made by school authorities. It was highlighted that some of the students recommended from schools are not necessarily orphans or vulnerable children but are close relatives of school authorities.

The food offered to the beneficiaries at times does not benefit the targeted groups. In many cases the food is diverted to children of the guardians in the case of those who are still young. The uniforms are also sometimes shared among other relatives who stay with the beneficiaries.

The schools are also sometimes accused of abusing the funds paid by the Trust. This retards development at schools and in the end it affects the performance of the beneficiaries.

The other challenge which is faced by Capernaum Trust in promoting quality education in Zimbabwe is that some of the school authorities deny students to wear the school uniforms they would have received saying they are of poor quality. More to this some beneficiaries themselves

do not take school work seriously and many of the students do not sit for all the subjects they have been paid for during the final examination. The school authorities encourage the beneficiaries to register all the subjects but at the end some students do not sit for the examinations.

Poor performance of some beneficiaries was the other challenge which was raised. This retards the intended goal that orphans and vulnerable children get quality education which would help them in future.

Some beneficiaries do not come to school even though their fees have been paid. When this happens, the school heads may not even report the issue to the Trust because they are afraid of losing the fees. This implies that there is need of a mutual relationship between the Trust and the schools which are benefiting from the Trust.

Analysis

The research found that the number of girls benefiting from Capernaum Trust programmes is higher than the number of boys. This entails that the Trust is complementing government efforts of promoting gender equality in every sector. The Trust is also helping the government to meet Millennium Development Goals Two and Three. This means that religious organizations which were known for suppressing women in society are now taking a leading role in promoting girl child education. Ommering argues that in health, education, poverty alleviation and gender programmes, Faith Based Organizations are now featuring prominently.²⁰ This is the reason why Capernaum Trust is involved in physical development of the learner through the nutritional support as well as hygiene training of both boys and girls to ensure healthy development. The Trust also develops the learners emotionally and relationally.

The responses of the beneficiaries on the adequacy of the help they get from the Trust were varying. Some, particularly those from rural areas, indicated that the resources are adequate. Their main concern was that the Trust must continue their help until they finish their university

²⁰ Eric van Ommering, "The Roles of Faith-Based Educational Institutions in Conflict Transformation in Fragile States," *Research Report*, University of Amsterdam, 2009.

studies. Their other concern was that the Trust must continue providing for their spiritual and hygienic support in the rural areas so as to further improve their health standards there.

The other group, more those in the urban centres and boarding schools, were saying that their benefits are not adequate. They commented more on casual wear and food stuffs, which they said need to be increased. Their concern was that in boarding schools, other students bring a lot of food, so for them not to feel inferior they also need to get more food. The other concern was that bus fare for those living in urban centres attending day schools is too demanding. The beneficiaries were requesting the Trust to also provide them with money which they would use for bus fares. This shows that students think that there are other resources that are critical in their education which need to be provided by the organization. Those in boarding schools and at university level listed other resources they expect to receive from Capernaum Trust which include laptops, green books, exercise books and tablets. These resources would enhance their research.

Strategies to Improve Service Delivery of the Trust

Asked on how Capernaum Trust can improve its service delivery, Capernaum Trust coordinators indicated that there is need for regular workshops and meetings between school authorities and Capernaum Trust officials so that the schools can know how the organization operates. School heads also indicated that the organization should pay the school fees, examination fees and levies in time. This would reduce incidences of beneficiaries staying home before their fees are paid. There is also need to provide sustainable help to children who would fail to proceed with their education after failing. This could include provision of gardening facilities to those in the rural areas, provision of farming inputs to the guardians of the beneficiaries so that they would not abuse the food given to beneficiaries, provision of life skills training after completion of secondary education. This would make the beneficiaries to become self-sustaining.

Chapter 17: Bringing God to the Forefront Once More. The Need for Theological Education in Sustainable Development: The Botswana Case

Obed Ndeya Obadia Kealotswe

Introduction

Any attempt to bring God to the forefront of any issue of concern in human life and development needs to be viewed versus secular and sacred views of life and human development. When many missionary bodies came to Africa, and Botswana in particular, the paradigm that prevailed was to lead the heathen to God and the attainment of eternal life in heaven. Life on this earth was not given much emphasis in spite of the revolution brought by Darwin when he showed that human beings and nature should live in harmony in order to sustain life. Darwin challenged the view that humanity should subdue the earth and conquer it, as contained in some Biblical teachings in the Book of Genesis. Since Biblical exegesis and criticism was relatively new by then, many missionaries and their colonialist colleagues could not see the value of life in this world in order to promote it and make it sustainable. The aim of the missionary was to prepare the converts for eternal life in heaven as seen in the otherworldly view which dominated the theological and religious beliefs of the era of the industrial revolution in England and the whole of Europe. The missionaries then brought education with strong ethical and moral principles which prevented people from accumulating wealth because wealth would lead to pride before God which would lead to evil practices which in turn would lead those who love wealth to hell-fire and keep them out of heaven.

It has been argued that the missionaries in third world countries, gave some attention to economic rather than political development. They introduced new agricultural methods, trained people in new skills, promoted trading and small scale industry, set up cooperatives for making and selling new products and revolutionized many areas of economic development by their experiments with the natural resources of the country

and by introducing new foods and plants. They brought the idea of the right of humanity to share in the fruits of the earth. This idea opposed the prevailing one by traditional Christianity which viewed life as the illusory nature of this world by putting emphasis on a strong ethic of work and industry leading to economic progress and human development. The missionaries, however, lacked some theoretical framework for development because to them it was just a means of evangelism. In this manner, development was left to the Western colonial regimes. As a result of the lack of such a theory of development, the development brought by the colonial regimes led to a number of problems which the church had to wrestle with. As moral and spiritual problems arose due to rapid development, a positive approach to economic development was needed in order to fulfill the purpose for God in life. The church felt the challenges of the emerging economic systems such as capitalism, socialism or communism. These theories became popular in many African states after independence.

The missionaries, especially in Botswana, supported the traditional land tenure systems which basically encouraged people to use the land in order to get their needs such as the basic foodstuffs to last them to the next rainy season. The major crops produced were aimed at providing people with enough food. Those who did not have were assisted by those who had more than they needed for their seasonal survival. This is what basically constitutes Christian economics. The core of Christian economics is that a person should have what is needed to maintain and sustain life. To get more than what is necessary for the maintenance and sustenance of human life is classified as greed and chasing the wind.

This view of life and the world, which was similar to that of the Batswana and Africans in general, was disturbed by the colonial merchants and business people who wanted to accumulate wealth even that which they did not need for their survival. This led to many theories of development which have been and are still affecting developments in the world of today. Human greed and the need for goods which are just accumulated like chasing the wind is the major cause of unsustainable development.

This chapter will concentrate on two theories which it believes are relevant to the Botswana situation and that in many other southern African countries.

The first one is the *vent for surplus* theory.¹ The summary of this theory is that at independence, many African countries were forced by western powers to abandon subsistence farming in favour of commercial farming. When the traditional land tenure system was to produce enough food to last into the next season, the *vent for surplus* forced people to abandon food production in favour of cash crops which were then exported to the western industrialized countries where they were processed into consumable goods which were sold back to Africa again as finished products. In many African countries, where the climate is good, people were made to abandon food production in favour of cotton or tobacco. These were exported to the west partly as payments for loans which were incurred by the newly independent governments. It is ridiculous that food would then be imported from other countries using the money that had been raised from the sale of raw commodities. This exercise became futile because it made people poorer as they could not produce their own food but remained dependent upon imported foods in spite of the rich soil and fauna of their respective countries. If one looks at Botswana and other southern African countries, one still sees this trend as shall be argued later.

The second theory which is relevant to the Botswana situation is the *dependency theory*. Walter Rodney applied this theory to Africa.² Let me describe the core of this theory at length because I see it as the major cause of unsustainable development in Botswana.

It suggested that in Africa, European capitalism penetrated the continent from the time of the slave trade onwards and external exchange relations have distorted indigenous economies by encouraging those sectors such as agricultural exports, which best served the interests of foreign demand. As a result surplus value was transferred to the metropolises from

¹ Expounded by Myint in D. Siddle and K. Ewindell, *Rural Change in Tropical Africa from Colonies to Nation-States*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.

² Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1982.

the periphery, a process which was reinforced by colonialism and has continued afterwards by the co-operation between national bourgeoisies and multinational corporations. International trade has become a “zero-sum game,” the gains of one player (the metropolises) are the losses of the other (periphery). Thus, international trade has done nothing to help industrialization, rather it has caused local economies to atrophy and locks them into a dependent role *vis-a-vis* the advanced capitalist industrialized countries of the North.

In spite of the globalized world in which we live today and the shift in trade from the west to the east, this theory, largely, still applies. In many southern African countries, particularly Botswana, one of the most worrying areas of corruption is whereby the rich collaborate with the economic colonizers to exploit the wealth of Botswana at the expense of the poor. Many theological institutions in Botswana, Africa and the world at large have surrendered themselves to the current capitalist economic systems which affect sustainable development. It is time that such institutions should once more bring God to the forefront through understanding the challenges posed by modern development systems and facing these challenges through a strong emphasis on religious ethics and morality.

Major Challenges to Religious and Theological Economic Development

Siddle and Swindell have made a very wide study of developmental problems posed by the *vent for surplus* theory and the *dependency syndrome* of Rodney,³ but this chapter argues that there are other factors to be considered which do contribute to unsustainable development. Bauer has critically examined the causes of poverty and the economic principles applied. One of the major causes of poverty is population growth.⁴ This observation fits Africa, and Botswana in particular. The introduction of modern western medicines has helped in improving the lifespan of many people in Africa, and Botswana in particular. This leads to

³ D. Siddle and K. Ewindell, *Rural Change in Tropical Africa from Colonies to Nation States*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990.

⁴ P.T. Bauer, *Dissent on Development*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1976.

population growth because many diseases such as malaria and small-pox, which used to claim many deaths, are now curable. As a result populations have grown which calls for more employment opportunities which many countries do not afford. Maboguje has made a very wide study of developmental processes of various countries.⁵ He has made many definitions of development, such as development as economic growth, development as modernization, development as distributive justice etc. All these aspects do affect Africa, and Botswana in particular. This chapter argues that sustainable development could be realized by understanding development as distributive justice. Tietenberg has shown through some wide studies how development affects the environment.⁶ In many cases, developments that are engineered by economic greed, especially catering for the interests of the rich, are dangerous to the environment. When land that could be used to produce food for the major human needs is turned into gold or diamond mines, the production of food is limited and more people suffer because in many cases displaced people move to the emerging urban areas where they live in squatter camps in extreme poverty whilst those who benefit from mining develop into an elitist class. Marger has made a wide study of how communities and societies are governed by people who hold both political and economic power.⁷ It is no wonder why in many capitalist countries development always caters for the interests of the rich and powerful. This is the reason why in Africa, and particularly Botswana, the rich never believe that the Batswana are poor because as long as the few are rich and wealthy, the whole country is believed to be rich. Sociologists also give some reasons as to why sustainable development is not easily achievable in many countries. Haralambos and Holborn have discussed many issues that affect societies

⁵ A.L. Maboguje, *The Development Process, A Spatial Perspective*, London: Hutchinson and Co, 1980.

⁶ T. Tietenberg, *Environmental and Natural Resource Economics*, New York: Pearson Education, 2003.

⁷ M.N. Marger, *Elites and Masses: An Introduction to Political Sociology*, Litton Educational Publishing, 1981.

and communities all over the world,⁸ like unemployment and leisure,⁹ and poverty and social exclusion.¹⁰ This chapter focuses on these two because they have some great relevance to Botswana where poverty and unemployment have led to the exclusion of many people from participating fully in life as human beings created in the image of God. One of the challenges to Christian economics is what is generally believed to be social welfare. Wilensky and Lebeaux start their examination of social problems by critically looking at the Industrial Revolution and its consequences.¹¹ One of the major characteristics of this revolution was *individualism* which is described as “rational, acquisitive, self-interested and individual.”¹² Individualism destroyed the traditional social and economic structures which viewed life from a communal perspective where people live for each other. The other problem was the rise of the free market which gave rise to capitalism as an economic system. Capitalism poses some great challenges to the Christian economics model which is proposed in this chapter. As the rich accumulated all properties, they came to a point where they could not get any satisfaction in life based on wealth and riches. To ease their consciences which are always tortured by God, they resorted to social welfare. This chapter argues that social welfare is the greatest defense of individualism and greediness because instead of people getting what they need for their lives and share with others on an equal humanitarian basis, the rich tend to give out what they do not need in order to ease their consciences. It is good to be charitable in times of natural disasters such as famine and floods, which are common in Africa and other countries, but creating situations of poverty through the *vent for surplus* and the *dependency syndrome* does not need to be condoned by God. Timms discusses the role of conscience in social

⁸ M. Haralambos and M. Holborn, *Sociology Themes and Perspectives*, London: Harper Collins, 2004.

⁹ Ibid, pp. 618-689.

¹⁰ Ibid, pp. 236-289.

¹¹ H.J. Wilensky and C.N. Lebeaux, *Industrial Society and Social Welfare*, New York: The Free Press, 1965.

¹² Ibid, p. 33.

work.¹³ His conclusion is that conscience justifies social work. When the rich see the poor suffering, their consciences worry them and then they do some charitable work or, as a state, provide social welfare. Such welfare does not address the real needs of people as the Botswana example shall show.

The Botswana Case

Botswana became independent in 1966, having been a British Protectorate since 1885. Its independence came very smoothly without any liberation wars but just through political activity. The church, especially the London Missionary Society (LMS), played a great role in helping Botswana to develop into a self-governing sovereign state. The LMS which had come to Botswana in 1847 had helped the Batswana to develop their economies through a Christian-traditional land tenure system which gave priority to food production since the climate of Botswana is generally semi-desert. However, four years after independence (1970), large mineral deposits of copper and diamonds were discovered in a country that was generally ignored by the British government. Within a short space of time vast infrastructural developments were realized. The country rapidly moved from one of the poorest countries in the world to a middle income one. However, the developmental model which was used was basically the *vent for surplus* which led to the *dependency syndrome*. The agricultural sector which had always been the basis of Botswana's economy was neglected at once. Many people moved away from the rural areas into developing urban areas such as Selebi-Pikwe, Orapa and Jwaneng. The old colonial towns of Francistown and Lobatse were developed whilst a new capital city was developed as Gaborone. One of the major advantages of this sudden growth is that it took place in a very small population of less than one million people where one would think that all the people were going to benefit from mining and become full human beings with all the necessities of life. The major disadvantage was that many people were not educated or trained in any work skills. To sustain development in both mining and industry, the new government

¹³ N. Timms, *Social Work Values. An Enquiry*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983, pp. 36ff.

had to rely on expatriate work-power pushing Batswana to the periphery of economic growth. The major problem was that the rich government suddenly neglected churches which had been running schools, clinics and hospitals. Instead of helping the institutions in order to sustain the religious ethics and morals, many institutions were surrendered to government by the churches, especially the LMS. This was a fatal blow to religion and theology. But the chances of going back to Christian ethics and morality are very high since many Batswana are now dissatisfied with modern developmental theories.

Botswana is a cattle farming country which produces some of the best beef in the world. The need to supply the west with beef has led to the accumulation of cattle by some very few people in the country when the rest remains poor. The poor who have small herds of cattle fail to meet the demands by the west for the beef they need to buy from Botswana. The poor then sell their few cattle to the rich. They do not only sell cattle, but even land. The result is that many people have lost their cattle and even their land to the rich. This system is encouraged by the government which allows the rich to form syndicates and obtain as much land as they wish to improve their herds. The poor are then pushed from their small rural farms to the urban and semi-urban areas where they then receive whatever is provided by the rich. The situation is so critical that government provides free food rations to the aged and the poor in society. It has now gone to the extent of building houses for the poor since many have no place to stay. Amidst prosperity there is extreme poverty. Unemployment has become rampant since agricultural production is now "manned" by modern technology. The use of big tractors by the rich on their big well-fenced farms requires only few labourers. Very few labourers are needed to look after thousands of cattle owned by one person because Land Cruisers are in fashion and they are used on the farms. Big engines are used to pump water from hundreds of metres underground in the semi-desert Kgalagadi where there is plenty of grass to feed and produce cattle needed to export meat to the West and other countries. For the few middle-class cattle owners, many regulations are made such as *tracing systems* to find the origins of each and every animal before it qualifies for the European market. As a result, this lucrative market is for the less

than 10% of the population who own the highest number of cattle in the country.

The diamond industry has done a lot in lifting Botswana from one of the poorest countries in Africa to a middle income country. But a question has long been asked as to who is benefitting from this economic success, individuals or the Botswana nation?¹⁴ It is a visible fact that since independence a lot of infrastructural development has been achieved. However, the question remains as to who benefits from these vast developments. Are the beneficiaries the large numbers of the unemployed who get some government food rations and those who are given blankets from charitable organizations whose companies are behind the exploitations of the wealth of Botswana? Botswana is characterized by a class structure composed of the elites and the masses. The gap between the elites and the masses has led to unsustainable development resulting in the poor becoming poorer whilst the rich are becoming richer in an economy that could give an equal share of resources to all the people. The social welfare state has become the major obstacle to sustainable development, because development caters for the rich whilst the poor benefit from the charitable gifts of the rich. Such a situation cannot be called sustainable development. The church needs to bring God into the forefront and create a sustainable model of development based on the old economic system of the Batswana and the missionaries.

The Need for God in the Forefront

One of the major causes of unsustainable development is the spirit of greed, which is embedded in the human being. All the religions of the world and especially Christianity are fighting human greed which is the cause of all evils. The life and development of human beings as understood by the missionaries, following the core teachings of the Bible, is that human beings do not live forever in this world. Everlasting life is associated with the after-life in the heavenly world. In African Traditional Religion and Philosophy, the real life is that of the continuity of life in the spiritual realm which constitutes the world of the ancestors.

¹⁴ L. Picard, *The Politics of Development in Botswana: A Model for Success?* Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1987.

The material world is full of problems and life in it is like chasing the wind. The belief that life in this world is a passing one helps people to develop good ethical and moral principles which prepare them for the happy world to come. This belief and view of life is shared by almost all the major religions of the world. In the African worldview, before interference from the missionaries and colonialists, the dead were buried with their belongings for their use in the next spiritual world. The Christian religion does not support this view. The things of this world are of this world and many of them are believed to be evil and detract people from pleasing God in order to go to heaven. On this view, Christians are expected to live modest lives governed by the Scriptures. This modest life makes them to avoid greed and the unnecessary accumulation of wealth at the expense of the poor. Christians are expected to live exemplary lives in their communities and societies so that their ethics and morality should be the basis of human formation and development. The lack of greed brings sustainable development because it creates a situation where there are no poor nor rich as expected in the Book of Acts. When people have all their things in common, communities are sustained and both human and infrastructural development is achieved. This Biblical view of life is found in both the Old Testament and the New Testament. This view of life is what the early missionaries in Botswana and Africa promoted. Their aim was to create communities who knew that real life was to come in heaven and that the things of this world should not detract them from heaven. By so doing, good ethical and moral principles governed the developments of the time as seen in the many schools, and health facilities which were not built for profit but to keep people living good lives. But modern developments are not only a challenge to human life but to the earth as a whole, because they are generated by human greed. One scientist, Professor Hawking speculated that in accordance with the rules of science, the earth will be destroyed in the next 30 years because of climate change. He suggested that some new life should be sought on Mars and on the moon.¹⁵ This might sound like a joke but those who have eyes see what is happening and those with ears hear what is happening in the world.

¹⁵ Prof. Hawking, "Norway," in *The Botswana Advertiser*, 7.07.2017.

One of the most unfortunate impacts of modern development is its impact on the environment. Tom Tietenberg discusses with many examples from many countries how the environment has been and is being affected by our modern developments.¹⁶ The argument is that there is a need to assess the impacts of developments on the environment before any developments could take place. Many countries which are governed by greed do not see the need to consider the environmental impact of developments. Desertification is taking place in many countries because large beautiful forests are destroyed to give way to towns and villages. Some environmentally conscious countries prefer to leave some of their lands for tourism rather than destroying the environment in order to mine gold or diamonds. This is the route which sustainable development should take. Consideration should be made as to the extent to which human life would be affected by such developments.

How do we Bring God into the Forefront?

Before this chapter presents its utopian ideas about bringing God to the forefront, let us examine some concrete philosophical and psychological impacts of religion on people. Ritzer discusses the economic theories of Karl Marx and the idea of alienation in the rise of capitalism.¹⁷ Although he does not point to religion as one of the ideologies, which Marx stated as one of the causes of alienation, some sociologists have argued that Marx actually regarded religion as the opiate of the people. Hamilton discusses how Marx viewed religion as an ideology used by the powerful to oppress the poor.¹⁸ He calls religion the *sigh* of the oppressed and the *opium* of the people. To him, like Freud, religion is an illusion which is created by human beings who then project it beyond themselves to God. His argument is that if people are promised a better life in heaven, they fail to challenge the economic injustices of this world and let capitalism with its individual greed grow. From a psychological perspective, Loewenthal has made some wide studies on how psychology can affect

¹⁶ T. Tietenberg, *Environmental and Natural Resource Economics*, New York: Pearson Education, 2003.

¹⁷ Ibid, pp. 162-167.

¹⁸ Malcolm Hamilton, *The Sociology of Religion*, Oxford: Routledge, 1995.

religious behaviour.¹⁹ The observations which he made are very important for this chapter. Many religious bodies classified as Pentecostal and Charismatic tend to use psychology in some of their religious practices especially in healing, exorcisms and prayers for success. Such religious bodies do attract a lot of people from both the rich and the poor. The poor need prayers and healing in order to become rich. The rich need God to help them overcome their guilty consciences because of their oppression of the poor. This chapter argues that the major challenge facing Christendom today is the commercialization of the gospel which is very common among the Pentecostal and Charismatic leaders. The problem is that even the major orthodox denominations are also falling victims to this commercialization of the gospel. On the other hand such Charismatic leaders are the ones who need to re-channel their powers to God rather than to themselves. One of the things which many people do not realize is the power of religious people. One religious leader controls and is obeyed and listened to by thousands of people. At funerals and weddings a religious leader controls thousands of people because he or she speaks on behalf of God who is revered by all people. This chapter argues that religious leaders of all faiths should now channel their influences to putting right the bad secular and exploiting economies of the world and of Botswana in particular.

God in the Forefront

Let me start by stating that this is one of the most utopian dreams that one could have in our modern materialistic era. But God being God and human beings being human beings, the truths of God will always prevail. This chapter has argued that it is going to propose the way forward in bringing God to the forefront. At Kgolagano College three proposals for new programmes have been submitted to the Botswana Qualifications Authority (BQA) which are to be offered looking at the situation in Botswana today. The first one is the Bachelor's Degree in Moral Education. This programme is geared to produce teachers in Moral Education from a Christian perspective in order to address the moral decay that is

¹⁹ K.M. Loewenthal, *A Short Introduction: The Psychology of Religion*, Oxford: One World, 2000.

threatening Botswana communities and societies. The second one is the Bachelor's Degree programme in Counselling. This programme is aimed at addressing the counselling needs of the displaced people in Botswana. Family life, social life and even the greedy rich cannot find satisfaction in their wealth and they engage in drugs and other evils which threaten their lives. They all need counselling. The third programme is a Master's Degree in Divinity. This programme is aimed at people who hold a Master's Degrees in other fields especially in Political Science. The aim of the programme is to put some Christian ethical and moral input into our politicians or law makers, doctors in hospitals, and all sorts of developers of the economy of the country so that their actions and programmes should be guided by God. In Botswana, this is not utopian because whenever things go wrong, the Batswana appeal to the past when many people were Christians and Christian morality was visible in all spheres of life. Of late our politicians associate themselves with certain church denominations. They appeal to churches to assist them in dealing with social and economic problems facing the country. This is a sign that our governments are now failing to sustain what they had believed to be development without involving God. Many politicians, including the President of Botswana, donate Bibles to people in the villages and towns all over Botswana. This is already clearing the way for a strong theological programme which should bring God into the forefront once more. In spite of the despair that is seen in the churches because of the loss of good ethics and morality, there is hope that religion still has a place in the modern or postmodern world.

Walsh and Kaufman have edited many articles which show the role of various religions in addressing several social issues in southern Africa.²⁰ These articles point to the fact that religion still has a good chance to affect economic, social and political issues in southern Africa and Botswana in particular. Hans Küng argues for a new paradigm in theological discourse. This new paradigm proposes an ecumenical approach to theology which does not only include the different Christian denominations

²⁰ T.G. Walsh and F. Kaufmann, *Religion and Social Transformation in Southern Africa*, St. Paul, Minnesota: Paragon House, 1999.

but other world religions.²¹ This new paradigm takes consideration of real economic, political, social and developmental realities of this world. All issues of life in this world are to be subjected to this new paradigm of doing and living theology. Picard posed a question which has not yet been answered in the fifty one years of independence in Botswana. Botswana is internationally regarded as one of the best democracies in Africa and the world. It is also classified as a classic story of development and success. Picard has asked the question: success to whom?²² There is no answer up to today. But the answer provided by this chapter is that the success is for the elites as indicated in most of our literature review. The point then is how the church or religion should come in to put God in the forefront of development. The answer to this point is that religion should take advantage of government programmes and capitalize on their failures in order to force government to adopt the Christian economic system or just the religious economic system.

In Botswana, the common problem is that government has assisted many people and companies with funds to start businesses in order to create employment. Many people are assisted through the various government schemes. But many of the projects do not meet their purpose because those who get the funds use them to enrich themselves, failing to create jobs for others in order to create sustainable employment resulting in sustainable development. Botswana has just entered its 11th National Development Plan. This follows a series of such five year development plans, many of which have not succeeded due to mismanagement of programmes and the greed of some individuals who use donated funds for personal enrichment instead of creating jobs for other people and creating sustainable development. The argument of this chapter is that Kgolagano College together with all other theological and biblical institutions in Botswana should create programmes which bring back God into the curriculum and the Botswana societies and communities. When I looked at the 2008 curriculum of St. Augustine University College in

²¹ Hans Küng, *Theology for the Third Millennium: An Ecumenical View*, New York: Doubleday, 1988.

²² L. Picard, *The Politics of Development in Botswana: A Model for Success?* Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publications, 1987.

Johannesburg,²³ I found that most of its courses were balanced between making people conscious of the fact that they belong to God and their real destiny is heaven but at the same time they address developmental issues in this world and how development should be structured in order to fulfill life in this world and the world to come.

When studying the National Development Policies of the government of Botswana, one sees that need to develop some equitable distribution of wealth so that there should not be any poor people amongst the extremely rich. But in actual practice and implementation, such good ideas are not practicable. The problem is that those who are supposed to implement them have become greedy and corrupt. It is only now that when they cannot get true happiness and peace in their minds they begin to think of God. This is where churches should come in and bring God to the forefront. The churches and other religions have done it before and it is time for them to come back with force once more to instill religious ethics and morality on economic and developmental issues. The provision of houses alone without changing the economic system cannot create sustainable development. Sustainable development should use justice as its developmental ethic. Giving food rations and blankets to the poor does not address the inhuman conditions and situations in which many Batswana find themselves. Human conditions are created by governments, societies and communities who have good ethics and morals based and derived from religious principles.

Conclusion

It is an undeniable fact that the developmental policies of this world and of Botswana in particular have completely diverted away from human development with good ethical and moral principles to individualistic and elite interests. It is a fact that religious bodies often have given in to such pressures. But the argument of this paper follows Hans Küng in his proposal for theology in the third millennium that an ecumenical approach to theology will bring religion and God to the forefront once more.

²³ 2008 Curriculum of St. Augustine University College in Johannesburg.

Chapter 18: Religion as a Significant Ingredient of Development

Devison Telen Banda

Introduction

The relationship between development and religion is characterized by ambivalence. Most often discourses on factors of development and indeed many development agendas minimize or ignore religion as if religion does not matter and has no role at all in development. Many development actors include religious actors when it suits them. In one instance, religion is deemed to be a partner in development while in another instance, the same religion is pointed at with an accusing finger as a hindrance to development. Using a combination of literature review, observation and exegetical methodologies, this chapter explores this relationship. To do so, a number of probing questions that guide the inquiry are posed and they include the following: do religion and development have any relationship? What role does religion play in development and in turn, what role does development play in religion?

To respond to these questions, a number of issues demand to be addressed. Such issues include some working definition or understanding of some of the key words under the theoretical framework as they are employed in this chapter, and the contexts in which they are used. Unless this is done, misunderstandings become inevitable and the more the misunderstandings the more hindrances to appreciating the interrelationship between development and religion. One effective way of preventing misunderstanding leans on the usage of these descriptive terms and the generic connotations as explored below. This is important because the meaning of words, phrases and expressions rests on the context and manner in which a particular author uses them.

Defining Religion

If the subject matter has to be treated with legitimacy, some perspectives on the working understanding are necessary as aforementioned. Thus, we

should start off with a basic question: what is religion? Defining religion is a cumbersome task because religion is all embracing. This observation is alluded to by Haynes, who also points out that: "defining religion satisfactorily is notoriously difficult."¹ Leaning on the sociological premise, he understands religion as: "(1) a system of beliefs and practices related to an ultimate being or beings, or to the supernatural; or (2) that which is sacred in a society, including ultimate inviolate beliefs and practices." Another attempt to define religion, which is relevant to this study is offered by Green, whose anthropological perspective leads him to adopting Spiro's definition, and so he views religion as "an institution consisting of culturally patterned interactions with culturally postulated superhuman beings."² Religion is much more than a 'dream of the human mind' and it is more than a set of human activities, though it may not be disputed that "religion centers on belief in the supernatural, on the belief that alongside the world of mundane things (human beings, animals, inanimate objects)," there exists "a realm of super-empirical beings."³ Religion does not only consist of beliefs in God or in gods for purposes of the exterior and distant future, but it also impacts life in the here and now realm as well. Religious adherents engage themselves in complex systems of rituals into which each one is initiated, expose themselves to experiential elements and endure burdens of observing codes of conduct, some of which are very demanding partly because religion appeals to them. Certainly religion is, to a great extent, for the purposes of life in the here and now realm as well. We agree with Clark that even religions like Buddhism where belief in super beings like spirits and demons or gods and their influence in human life in the here and now realm is

¹ J. Haynes, *Religion and Politics in Europe: The Middle East and North Africa*, Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge, 2010, p. 2.

² W.S. Green, "What do we Mean by 'Religion' and 'Western Civilization?'" in J. Neusner, *Religious Foundations of Western Civilization. Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006, p. 7.

³ B. and B.R. Clark, *The Philosophy of Religion, A Critical Introduction*, Malden: Polity Press, 1998, p. 2.

absent,⁴ religious life still oscillates between the already and the not yet futuristic realms.

The ongoing debate about the understanding of religion as constituting various elements such as 'codes of conduct, complex systems of rituals into which one must be initiated; a social dimension; an experiential element calls for the recognition that religion cannot fully be understood in terms of content alone.⁵ Religion also contains the functional element which comprises the role that religion plays in society. In many ways, religion serves like the glue that binds "together the members of a community into one coherent whole" beyond its doctrinal content or belief in the supernatural.⁶

For the purpose of this study, we treat as of significance Green's view of religion as an institution consisting of "culturally patterned interaction" with "culturally postulated superhuman beings."⁷ Here, a number of observations are worth noting: firstly, as already emphasized, religion is about the already and not yet futuristic realms of living. Secondly, 'culturally patterned interaction' suggests that religion is inseparable from culture as each religion is culturally received and practiced as one of the inherited life narratives. As Green (quoting Stone) argues: "We are the stories we believe, we are who we believe we are."⁸ Thirdly, rituals, sayings and actions limited to life in this realm of living excluding some "interaction" with the supreme being or beings do not constitute religion, while at the same time, rituals, sayings and actions tied to the supreme being or beings irrespective of what name the supreme being or beings are called, fails to constitute religion if such are divorced from life in the here and now realm.

⁴ Ibid, p. 3.

⁵ Ibid, p. 4.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ W.S. Green, "What do we Mean by 'Religion' and 'Western Civilization'?" in J. Neusner, *Religious Foundations of Western Civilization. Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006, p. 7.

⁸ Ibid, p. 6.

Religion as a culturally conditioned phenomenon, provides avenues for handling present challenges, yet religion in essence goes beyond being a mere avenue for coping with struggles against ultimate questions of life, and cementing community living. It is important to note that religion is inherited, employed towards handling struggles with the ultimate issues of life in this realm in interaction with the supernatural realm within the cultural premise whilst pointing out to the future. In this regard, the study must now touch on culture which we have argued is inseparable from religion.

Culture

One logical question to begin with is: “What is culture”? It is a recognized fact that there are many diverse notions of culture which render the task of defining difficult. There are many “uncertainties regarding the nature of culture.”⁹ Understanding of the meaning of culture facilitates the understanding of many things including religion and development which constitute the focus of this study. In shedding light on the significance of culture, Luzbetak argues that:

“God created humans as cultural beings ... whenever God deals with human beings, whether it is in the Bible or in our times, he deals with them as cultural beings.”¹⁰

A generic understanding of culture is offered by Luzbetak. Quoting E.B Tylor (1832 – 1917), he defines culture as

that complex whole including knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other abilities and habits acquired by people as members of society. Culture is ... ‘the sum total of what an individual acquires from his [or her] society – those beliefs, customs, artistic norms, food-habits, and crafts which came to him [or her] not by his [or her] own

⁹ L.J. Luzbetak, *The Church and Cultures*. New Perspectives in Missiological Anthropology, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1998, p. 133.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, p, 134.

creative activity but as a legacy from the past, conveyed by formal or informal education.”¹¹

Although these definitions cannot be taken to as exhaustive, they cover what is necessary for this study. Culture is what we are in terms of both our acquired and inherited acumens. Like religion, culture is the people’s heritage which they cannot suspend at any single moment nor leave behind anywhere. On the contrary, people travel with their culture and religion wherever they go. In this regard John Mbiti correctly states that: “In many countries of Africa, vehicles ... carry religious slogans, and sometimes slogans are needed when drivers speed or drive recklessly.”¹² (It can be deduced that what Mbiti refers to as “slogans” are often culturally designed. Thus, for the purposes of our study, “culture” is treated as synonymous with “world” which means that a people’s culture is their world. World does not carry herein the sense of heaven, sky, visible heavens, as abode of the stars or the visible universe nor of the land, earth, whole earth as opposed to heaven, country, territory (Genesis 1:1,7) as an abode of human life. In other words, “World” does not in this study refer to the physical firmament. It carries more of the connotation of *κοσμος*,¹³ (*cosmos*), meaning an appropriate and neighbourly arrangement or constitution, the way in which people order or govern themselves, the manifestation or visible essence of inhabitants of the earth.¹⁴ It refers to women and men of a given community or indeed, the human race as a broader category. Such a meaning of *κοσμος* does not only negatively refer to the ungodly multitude; the whole mass of men alienated from God, and therefore hostile to the course of Christ as Paul uses it in 1Corinthians 4:9.¹⁵ World also positively refers to a manifestation, window or entrance into the people’s being. This is the sense in

¹¹ Ibid, quoting E.B. Tylor (1832 – 1917), p. 134,

¹² John S. Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*. (2nd ed.), Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1991, p. 1.

¹³ Cf. Martin and P. Ralph, *Word Biblical Commentary*, vol. 40, *2 Corinthians*, Texas: Word Books, 1998.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ J.H. Neyrey, *Paul in other Words: A Cultural Reading of His Letters*, Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990.

which the terminologies culture/world are used for the reason that culture is the core of people's living. In this sense of meaning and connotation, the up-building or destruction of people stands or falls with culture just as it does with religion.

To sum up, culture is a complex human phenomenon describing such aspects of human life as:

- A manner of perceiving, organizing, ordering and articulating reality or a lens of perception.
- Attitudes and beliefs that safeguard the identity and values of a particular people or nation. Among such attitudes and beliefs operative in many African cultures is religion, the upholding of taboos and the use of proverbs with a view to regulating certain aspects of life ranging from social relationships or sexuality to the conservation of nature and the environment.
- An axis of diverse cultures in set-ups where a cosmopolitan way of life is adopted as a compromise or response to cultural changes and challenges.

Like religion in its plurality, cultures, particularly in Africa, are so inter-related with each other that there is a sense in which one can view African cultures as culture in the singular. This can explain why in many parts of Africa, it is only the artificial political borders, custom procedures and the language factors that indicate that one is crossing between one country and another and not necessarily the attitude and approach to life of the people. In some cases, even language does not change at all. Therefore it is no overstatement that an African can live among other Africans without feeling a loss of identity, as she or he would in the Western World even after many years of staying there. The easier adaptation of Africans among other Africans can be attributed to realities of cultures and religion that, though diverse, constitute the shared core. The relationship between "African culture" (singular) and "African cultures" (plural), can also be detected from Mbiti's description of the African cultural heritage where he argues that:

Each African people has its own cultural heritage. Some aspects of our cultures are fairly similar over large areas of our continent. There are also many differences, which add to the variety of African culture in general. For example, in many parts of Africa one finds round houses, the keeping of cattle, sheep and goats, and the growing of bananas, millet, or yams as staple food. The custom of a husband having more than one wife exists in practically every African society. These are only a few examples of cultural similarities in Africa, which make it possible to speak of African culture (in the singular) remembering, however, that there are many varieties of it. Stories, proverbs, riddles, myths and legends are found in large numbers among all African peoples. They have been handed down orally.¹⁶

The above explanation does not intend to function as an antithesis to Western culture whose advocates may portray otherwise, but merely qualifying why in studies like this one, it has been deemed suitable to think and discuss in terms of both African “cultures” and “culture” without any sense of contradiction. The quotation from John Mbiti signifies that such an approach is recognized by some of the well-known African scholars and theologians.

Culture and religion are “universal in human societies”¹⁷ in the sense that there are no human beings without religion or culture. As pointed out, when people move from one place to another, they carry with them their religions and cultures which they practice in their individuality or corporality depending on circumstances in the new places. In the societies where travellers reach, they find people who, like themselves, are people of religions or cultures in their own right. Religion and culture form the hermeneutic key with which to unlock the meaning of all things.¹⁸ It can be argued that what Neyrey calls “all things” includes development as a concept unless the contrary is proven. In one scene, the culture and

¹⁶ John S. Mbiti, *Introduction to African Religion*, (2nd ed), Nairobi: East Africa Educational Publishers, 1991, p. 8.

¹⁷ W.C. Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991, p. 203.

¹⁸ J.H. Neyrey, *Paul in other Words: A Cultural Reading of his Letters*, Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990, p. 37.

religion of the visiting and hosting peoples share a lot in common, while in another scene they are different, like the experience of “Canaan” and “Israel” of Biblical times. Concerning such argumentation, Legrand reminds us:

In the Biblical text, Canaan stands as a symbol of what Israel rejected with regard to the Semitic cultural background in which it originated. The statement can be taken both ways. Canaan stands on the one hand, for what Israel *rejected*, but, on the other hand, for the milieu that *nurtured* its growth.¹⁹

The context of the above quotation suggests that what Legrand refers to as “Canaan” actually stands for Canaanite culture which in juxtaposition to Israelite’s culture testifies to the fact that the interactions of culture can lead to conflict and confrontation on the one hand, but can also lead to cooperation and growth opportunities on the other hand. In either case, it is important for meeting cultures to be mutually sensitive to each other and engage in creative dialogue.

Having briefly provided some perspectives on culture and its intrinsic link to religion in relation to the African context, it is now important to examine development and its relation to religion and culture. This is important because African life can never be separated from religion and culture.

Development

Like religion and culture, development as a concept is not easy to define. The term “development” is problematic. What is development? Is development change for the sake of it? Does development always entail disruption? Is development the coming of an intruder wearing the title “investor” and bringing a briefcase, but leaving with containers of goods? Is development displacing people from the land they have occupied for generations and where their ancestors are buried to other places that do not bear any memorial? Is development abandoning national currency in preference for dollarization and mimicking the Western culture? Is

¹⁹ L. Legrand, *The Bible on Culture: Belonging or Dissenting?* Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2000, p. 15.

development selling the copper mines on hire purchase to a foreign consortium which triples profits in three months and externalizes them? Is development explaining economic issues in bombastic technical terms in an environment where citizens live on less than US\$ 1 per day?²⁰ Is development the construction of shopping malls which deal in foreign products whose proceeds are externalized? Is development of a country the going of the Head of State with minions of cadres to the United Nations summit in a chartered plane? Is development industrialization that does not seriously consider the safety of the environment and the lives occupying the environment in question? Is development more of the same? What is development?

While acknowledging that this daunting question cannot be exhausted, adding a voice to the ongoing discourse is not a bad idea. For this reason, to add a perspective on what development is, this study leans on Viotti and Kauppi who in the glossary of their book describe development as:

The process associated with industrialization of societies. *Modernization* is a term sometimes used synonymously with *development*, but some theorists differentiate between the two. For some, *modernization* refers to societal values and processes that undergo major changes from pre-industrial traditional society, including the effects of industrialization, whereas *development* refers to the building of societal or governmental administrative infrastructure more capable of increasing demands brought on by the modernization process. *Autonomous* development occurs in isolation, or independent of what is going on outside of a given country, a circumstance more difficult to achieve in the contemporary period than may have been true in the nineteenth century. *Reflexive* development, when and if it occurs, is responsive to external economic conditions and may well be dependent on them.²¹

Distilling the above definition leads to a number of insights into development as a concept. Firstly, development is linked to modernization

²⁰ Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and how there is another Way for Africa*, London: Penguin, 2009.

²¹ P.R. Viotti and M.V. Kauppi, *International Relations Theory* (4th ed), New York: Longman, 2010, p. 455.

though the two concepts do not necessarily mean the same. Secondly, development is linked to change likened to the major changes experienced during the transition from pre-industrial traditional society to industrialization, or from domestication to globalization. Thirdly, by and large, development carries the connotation of 'growth or advancement,' 'making bigger or fuller' of something or someone. In this case development is a positive phenomenon though on the philosophical level no one is prevented from thinking and achieving what might be called negative development. Development may apply to improved quality even without increase in quantity. Fourthly, there are different types of development such as reflexive development achieved as a matter of response to external conditions, or autonomous development which occurs internally and independently from external factors.

Positive and sustainable development is a yearning of every person and every society. All development comes with good intentions though at times these good intentions remain not good enough in the view of this study. The reference to society as a target of development presupposes an understanding that the key factor of development is humanity which we insist to be cultural and religious. Thus, development worth the naming focuses on people who form society right onto the family as the basic unit. This means that consideration of humanity is a precondition of every form of genuine and sustainable development. Since we have argued that human beings are religious and cultural beings, a brief discussion on the relationship between development on the one hand, and religion and culture on the other hand, is worth exploring.

Development, Religion and Culture

As this study observes, holistic, genuine and sustainable development focuses on people more than on the self-interests of the developers. If the observation that holistic, genuine and sustainable development focuses on people is anything to go by, then understanding the nature of people provides a firm and conducive context for such development. What is the nature of people? This study contends that the nature of people is that they are beings of religion and culture. As aforementioned, when people move they move with their religions and cultures and where they go they find people of religion and culture. In other words, the interaction

between agents of development or developers and recipients of developments or targets of developments is an interaction between religions and cultures of the two peoples. The outcome of such interaction may not always be predictable. On the one hand, it may be positive, cooperative, and complementary and achieve positive development as intended, while, on the other hand, the same interaction might be negative, confrontational and generate the unintended consequences of negative development. Further, religion and culture grip people in a way that they become willing to confront any force and civilization that threatens their religion and culture together or each one alone. This is the case because in diversity, religion as inseparable from culture, constitutes a “quality of life,”²² and grips the whole of human life. Religion constitutes the hermeneutic framework through which reality is perceived. As Smith correctly argues:

Usually we see the world through a pattern of concepts that we have inherited. Sometimes these windows need cleaning; so much so that almost we may be seeing the windows that we have constructed rather than the world outside.²³

If we analyze Smith’s pronouncements as quoted above, what “pattern of concepts” can people ‘inherit’ that excludes religion on its own, culture on its own or indeed religion and culture in their inseparable togetherness? It appears that religion as a hermeneutic premise is so integral to life that individual living can even be willingly sacrificed if such sacrifice would be deemed necessary to defend religion. It is for this reason that among the Chewa people of Zambia and Malawi, you find some men who are willing to go to jail, beat up a priest and be expelled from Church or even die in defense of the *nyau* traditional school, which functions like a religion, despite the missionary negative attitudes and condemnation. Nussbaum reports of Hindu versus Islam conflict which led to genocide

²² W.C. Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion*, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991, p. 203.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 193.

in Gujarat because respective adherents felt that their religion was under attack.²⁴ In a similar vein, Green reminds us that:

“On September 11, 2001, nineteen men hijacked four American airplanes and engaged in devastating terrorist attacks against basic governmental and commercial institutions and centers of the United States. The attacks resulted in the destruction of the World Trade Center in New York City and caused extensive damage to the Pentagon, the center of American military. The fourth plane, which was forced down by American passengers, was believed to be destined for the White House. The attacks murdered more than three thousand people, from nearly all backgrounds and persuasions. All the evidence suggests that the people who sponsored and carried out the attacks did so because they deeply oppose what they see as the behaviour and values of America and the West and that their opposition in significant ways was motivated by, and expressed in the religious language of, a particular strain of Islam.”²⁵

What is of interest to this study is the observation that people without having on them weapons of mass destruction, fully aware that no one among them may survive, would attack a super power on its own soil and cause so much damage in the name of a religion. Put differently, these events provide a window of understanding that perceived threats that a religion feels may lead to acts of sabotage, terrorism and rebellion against civilization and development even amidst tight security backed with heavy artillery. To sum up, what do the findings of this study suggest as resolutions to the question: *do religion and development have any relationship? If they do not, how come and if they do, what is the role of religion in development or vice versa?*

²⁴ Martha Nussbaum, *The Clash Within, Democracy, Religious Violence, and India's Future*, Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2007, p. 2.

²⁵ W.S. Green, ‘What do we Mean by “Religion” and “Western Civilization”?’ in J. Neusner, *Religious Foundations of Western Civilization, Judaism, Christianity and Islam*, Nashville: Abingdon, 2006, p. 3.

Concluding Remarks with an Eye towards the Future

It appears that a number of propositions emerge from our study including the following:

- In its plurality, religion constitutes a “quality of life”²⁶ that, like culture, grips the whole of human life as evidenced by widely acknowledged religions from Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Hinduism to Islam and other religions.²⁷
- While it is a non-negotiable matter that at the core of religion lies in a ‘firm belief in a supreme being(s)’ involved in the human living and who control(s) the anticipated new order of realities, although as afore-argued, Buddhism may be an exemption, religion provides a base for solidarity and motivation to cope with threats in the here and now though not limited to the current life issues.
- Development, as a form of civilization, and religion influence each other for better or for worse. Development that destroys people’s culture leads nowhere, just like religion that teaches people shortcuts of claiming, ‘decreeing and declaring’ victory over poverty while not working hard does not lead to development.
- Positive and sustainable development that considers the religion, culture and plight of the target context creates chances of success as the people will own such development and sustain it long after the developers are gone. Equally, religion that teaches people ethical biblical values such as hard work, integrity, resisting corruption and nepotism to mention but a few, accelerates

²⁶ W.C. Smith, *The Meaning and End of Religion*, Minneapolis: Fortress, Press, 1991, p. 203.

²⁷ W.S. Green, "A 'Humanly Relevant' Cosmos: What we Study when we Study Religion," in J. Neusner, *Introduction to World Religions. Communities and Cultures*, Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2010, p. iii.

development in all forms. However, development that ignores and despises religion in its togetherness with culture attracts sabotage and other negativities. Conflicts that are leaning towards religion in the Middle East and North Africa testify to this proposition.

- Put differently, therefore, religion is a significant ingredient of any genuine and holistic development. Any development agenda that ignores religion or is insensitive to the religion and culture of the people in the catchment area of development undertakings is harmful and bound to fail.²⁸
- Mother Africa needs development agendas which are sensitive to the plurality of religion and culture of the people in whose territory development is planned to take place on the one hand, while on the other hand, calling upon religious players to be open for development and take ownership of all aspects of such development which equally affects religion.

²⁸ N. Ngulube, *Culture and Development*, Lusaka: ZEPH, 1997.

Chapter 19: The Role of Religious Communities and FBOs in Promoting Sustainable Development

Paul Kakooza

Introduction

Religious communities and FBOs have historically extended vital social, economic and spiritual development services on local, international, regional and global levels in terms of humanitarian relief, health and education. Given their presence and a broad following in society, coupled with their ability to deliver crucial services that allow them to mobilize grass root support, this study examines the contribution and roles of religious communities and FBOs towards promoting sustainable development, analyzing their weaknesses, limitations and strategies, proposing measures to enhance religious communities and FBOs' service delivery in order to promote sustainable development.

Religious communities refer to both gatherings of individuals who have common religious beliefs, habits and practices and to ideologies about the negotiated order of these gatherings. Frequently the term is used as a synonym for orders, residential religious groups, congregations, churches, synagogues, or organizational entities of religious life. The use of the term often implies an account of the type of religious culture that is valued and sometimes a kind of romanticism about the quality of relationships among members of the gathering.¹

Faith based organizations (FBOs) are organizations that derive inspiration for their activities from the teachings and principles of their faith or from a particular interpretation or school of thought within that faith. They comprise of a range of religious charitable organizations affiliated with one or more faith and spiritual traditions which may include;

- Religious congregations such as churches

¹ *Encyclopedia*, 2002, www.encyclopedia.com/religion [8.2.2017].

- Charities sponsored or hosted by one or more religious congregations.
- Nonprofit organizations founded by religious congregations or based on coalitions that include organizations described above.²

Sustainable development: The 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development defined it with three pillars. The Johannesburg declaration created a collective responsibility to advance and strengthen the interdependent and mutually reinforcing pillars of sustainable development to be economic development, social development and environmental protection at local, national, regional and global levels. The concern of this summit was that development should not only be viewed in economic terms, but it should as well address other frameworks like the environment.

Sustainable development can be measured in terms of quality of life, knowledge, creativity and self-realization that represent development rather than the quantity of goods and services.

The Brundtland Commission defined sustainable development as the core set of guiding principles and values in order to meet the needs now and in the future, for human, economic and social development within the restraints of the life support systems of the planet.³

Contributions and Roles of Religious Communities and FBOs in Promoting Sustainable Development

The activities of religious communities and FBOs permeate almost all spheres of life. They range from education and health to social and economic development.

FBOs and religious communities are significant players of education, service delivery and other non-market goods. They also introduce cultural values, among such organizations which include Islamic Relief,

² UNDP and Faith-Based Organization, "Report of a Consultation among Donor Organizations," New York: 2014.

³ W.R. Kates et al, *What is Sustainable Development?* www.helref.org/env.php, 2005.

Catholic Relief Services, the Aga Khan Development Network and others that deliver significant resources. World Vision, with a 2003 cash budget of \$819 million and an effective volume of \$1.25 billion due to in kind contributions, is among the largest and more studied of such international NGOs. It noted that several people who never got a chance to access government educational institutions, have benefited from religious services offered in terms of spiritual development thus learning how to read and write something that has contributed positively to poverty alleviation.⁴

Closely related to the above, FBOs and religious communities have transformed communities through changing people's mindset and their world views, through their power and influence on societies' norms and values which sometimes sabotage or hinder development. For example, many beliefs in superstitions that have been common in many African communities have been counteracted by the religious teachings in many parts of African continent.

Religious communities also lend a voice to the poor and vulnerable, they thus play an important role in strengthening civil societies that are often weak. Moreover, religious places of assembly often provide space for social and political debates. In the 2016 Uganda national elections, it was the Inter-religious Council of Uganda that engaged all presidential candidates for a joint debate.⁵

With their involvement in local communities, many FBOs and religious communities command the respect of the local and national authorities, which transforms them into valuable peace mediators in tense environments.⁶ It should also be noted that FBOs and religious communities

⁴ World Vision International, *Annual Report*, 2003; World Vision International, *Annual Report*, 2003; Hezekiah Banji Baiyeri, *The Role of Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs) in Human Development: A Study of Kogi State*, MA, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 2013.

⁵ Inter-religious Council of Uganda, *Civic Education and Voter Mobilization Handbook for Religious Leaders*, Kampala, 2015.

⁶ UNDP and Faith Based Organization, "Report of a Consultation among Donor Organizations," New York: Faith Based Organization, 2014.

have got an expanded coverage of interventions and they are part of nearly every community on earth and thus FBOs and religious communities are appreciated for long term sustainable presence at the grass root levels. Faith actors have got a strong grass root presence working in inaccessible areas often not covered by government services. During conflicts they tend to remain on the ground after other humanitarian actors have left, ensuring sustainability, local engagement, encouraging dialogue to deter further violence and addressing recurring issues such as gender based violence and the pleas of marginalized groups. For instance, between 2008 and 2009 during a political tension, religious leaders in Zimbabwe through the Ecumenical Church Leaders' Forum engaged communities to promote peace and defuse violence and the Inter Religious Council of Uganda carried out civic and voter mobilization to promote peaceful, transparent and free and fair general elections in Uganda in 2016.⁷

The *UNDP and Faith Based Organizations* report acknowledges that FBOs and religious communities have a very high commitment to development and peace. They motivate action by emphasizing compassion and service, unity and interconnections and justice. Religious communities and FBOs mobilize large numbers of highly motivated and skilled volunteers who see volunteering as part of their calling and strive towards peaceful development.

Religious communities have played a pivotal role in fighting hunger and providing food as one of the basic human rights. For example in 1975 world religions convened an inter-religious peace colloquium on food and energy. Through such charity ventures, religious communities have contributed significantly towards realization of integral development.

Religious communities and FBOs also collaborate with international development agencies like World Bank, IMF, USAID, and UNICEF in fostering development. For instance the Anglican Church and the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda have partnered with UNICEF and the

⁷ Inter-religious Council of Uganda, Civic Education and Voter Mobilization Handbook for Religious Leaders, Kampala, 2015.

Ministry of Education in Uganda to implement the early childhood training programme in the entire country.⁸

Religious communities and FBOs immensely contribute towards regional, national and inter-economic development,⁹ in that they own a number of financial institutions and projects, for instance the Roman Catholic Church in Uganda runs the Centenary Bank which is one of the best operating banks in Uganda, whereas several Anglican Dioceses like Luweero and Mukono operate micro finance banks commonly known as Savings and Credit Cooperation Institutions (SACCO) that provide technical services through investment and supervision in addition to loan services. Such economic programmes enhance small and mechanized business activities which facilitate job creation, wealth creation, cottage industries, farm products, or agro-allied industries which significantly contribute to sustainable development.

Religious communities and FBOs have played a key role in delivering rehabilitation services in which issues like drug addiction, the challenge of HIV/AIDS, sexual and reproductive health risks, matters of parent-child communication, youth mentoring, marriage and relationships, and stigmatization of HIV/AIDS victims are addressed.¹⁰ FBOs and religious communities extended care services to the refugees before and after the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) rebel conflict in Northern Uganda.

Dr David Naberro, the UN Secretary General's special adviser on the 2030 agenda highlights the following as roles played by religious communities like Anglican Alliance, Caritas International and Lutheran World Federation in advancing a sustainable development agenda.

⁸ Ministry of Education and Sports, "Early Childhood Development Manual for Management: Committees of Nursery Schools and Community Based ECD Centers," 2009.

⁹ Hezekiah Banji Baiyeri, *The Role of Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs) in Human Development: A Study of Kogi State*, MA, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, 2013.

¹⁰ The Church of the Province of Uganda, *A Christian Based Approach to Sexual Health and HIV/AIDS Communication Hand Book*, 2013.

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- Promoting inclusion of different groups.
 - Offering a peaceful channel for conflict resolution. FBOs and religious communities are increasingly at the forefront of public policy advocacy; they are consulted and involved by national and local governments on policies in the economic, social and political spheres, for instance on human rights, policies, election policies etc.
 - Reminding political leaders of their duty so as to enable all people to realize their rights. It is observed that FBOs and religious communities have been key in structuring governance through aligning with governments and involving in developing and adopting national legislation. In addition to providing spiritual and traditional guidance, FBOs and religious communities are part of the social fabric of communities and some may have greater access, scale and legitimacy than even local governments, citing an example in DRC Congo where Catholic Bishops initiated and mediated talks between government and opposition leading to a peaceful deal.
 - Helping to ensure that investments take place in communities with people at local level with their own resources.
 - Mobilizing people everywhere, especially the young. Gerd Muller emphasizes that religious convictions are major sources of motivation for many people to work for comprehensive sustainable development and many faith based institutions have traditionally contributed to public welfare.¹¹ In the field of education in particular, religious communities have been playing an important role in operating institutions and programmes
 - Sharing expertise on how to deliver services to those who are hardest to reach.¹²

¹¹ Gerd Muller, *Religious Communities as Partners for Development Cooperation*, Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2016.

¹² Olav Fykse Tveit, "The Role of Religion in Sustainable Development and Peace," A Speech by the General Secretary, World Council of Churches, 2016

This, therefore, shows that the UN acknowledges and appreciates the significant role played by religious communities and FBOs in mobilizing the 2030 development agenda.

FBOs have an extensive experience in most of the sustainable development goals through partnership with various operational UN agencies. Their presence in local communities, coupled with their capacity to deliver critical services, allows them to mobilize grass root support, follow-up network activities and capacity building earn them the trust of vulnerable groups and influence cultural norms, which make them vital stakeholders in development.¹³ In conclusion, therefore, religious communities and FBOs have been in the forefront of establishing and providing health and medical services. They have put up hospitals and health centers, as well as rendering basic health public sensitization campaigns on hygiene and sanitation, nutrition and life style, they have partnered with global and national organizations in providing health facilities in a bid to promote health as it is widely known that an unhealthy society cannot develop.¹⁴

Religious Communities and FBOs' Weaknesses and Limitations in Development

In some areas FBOs and religious communities have failed to promote sustainable development as analyzed below:

There have been episodes when faith has been used to cause untold sufferings to people of different persuasion resulting in war and killings. In some situations they have been used by some to justify injustice and dictatorship. This has negatively affected sustainable development in many parts of Africa and beyond, citing the example of Nigeria and the reli-

(www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/general-secretary/speeches/the-role-of-religion-in-sustainable-development-and-peace.)

¹³ A. Karam, Religion and Development Post, 2015.

¹⁴ A. Hipple, "The Center for Interfaith Action and the MDGs: Leveraging Congregational Infrastructures for Maximum Impact on Disease and Poverty," *CrossCurrents*, 60(3), 2010, pp. 368ff.

gious wars in Uganda in the 19th century that led to hatred between Catholics and Anglicans for many years.

Dishonesty, corruption and discrimination have not spared activities of FBOs and religious communities. It is evident that in some cases they ignore the poor.¹⁵ Reports that in Benin, the faith affiliated organizations represented the most prominent and effective protection network whereas in Malawi in the mid-1970s it is claimed that the annual budget of a prominent ecumenical organization (The Christian Service Committee of Churches of Malawi) was 1.5 times the size of the entire amount government allocated to development.¹⁶

Some FBOs and religious communities have, based on their religious practices and values, hindered development instead of promoting it. It is evident that some FBOs and religious communities strongly decampaign the use of family planning contraceptives and the use of condoms in the fight against HIV/AIDS, in addition to other social controversies like women's empowerment.

Some FBOs and religious communities severely discriminate among people, basing on various levels of interest, values or beliefs. Holistic community development must aim at uplifting *all* people irrespective of their sex, beliefs or values.¹⁷ This also highlights discrimination practiced by FBOs and religious communities among the major challenges on the road that leads to sustainable development.

Some of the development agencies fear that engagement with religious communities and FBOs may undermine the rights based approach especially in the promotion of equal gender relationships between women and men. The fear of religious extremism may lead to a negative shift on how FBOs and religious communities should be viewed as regards their role towards promotion of sustainable development.

¹⁵ Bernardo Kliksberg, *Social Justice: A Jewish Perspective*, Jerusalem: Gefen Publishing, 2003.

¹⁶ World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD), "The Provision of Services for Poor People: A Contribution to WDR 2004," 2003, www.wfdd.org.uk.

¹⁷ The UNDP, 2004.

There is also challenge of accountability that at times FBOs and religious communities fail to provide accountability to those whom the efforts and initiatives are basically called to serve, thus, abusing the principle of the preferential option for the poor.¹⁸

Sometimes, the capacity of religious groups and FBOs is not appreciated especially in local communities where people start with volunteering, this is largely due to lack of sufficient training, hence, affecting service delivery in several communities, and this is true almost in all fields like education, agriculture, and health, among others

At times religious communities and FBOs fail to advise and challenge ill political orders and therefore tend to shy away from such engagement, thus attempting to stay out of politics is increasingly unrealistic. Not only that, it is also argued that there are situations where increasing political instability in some parts of the world is effectively encouraged by faith inspired activism.

Religious communities and FBOs largely depend on western support in terms of resources which also fluctuate depending on different economic factors. It is observed that several projects in Africa have collapsed or been crippled as a result of this effect, hence, retarding development progress in different communities.

Mitigation Measures to Enhance Service Delivery to Promote Sustainable Development

Religious groups and FBOs should intensify interfaith corporation given the fact that religious pluralism and multi-religious and cultural societies have become many due to globalization, migration and massive flows of refugees. Interfaith cooperation is very vital since there is a shared commitment to assist communities face their common challenges like poverty, injustice and conflicts.

¹⁸ Olav Fykse Tveit, "The Role of Religion in Sustainable Development and Peace," A Speech by the General Secretary, World Council of Churches, 2016, (www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/general-secretary/speeches/the-role-of-religion-in-sustainable-development-and-peace).

There is a need for FBOs and religious communities to review their approach, especially on controversial and very sensitive matters like gender, family planning and use of contraceptives in order to formulate a common approach that would promote confidence and sustainable development.

There is a great need to intensify religious communities' and FBOs' capacity building that will enhance skills and effectiveness in service delivery.

FBOs and religious communities should invest more resources in research in order to identify the most ideal areas to invest in, thus leading to appropriate community development.

It is highly imperative and long overdue for religious communities and FBOs to establish sustainable local income generating projects in order to reduce the dependency syndrome which has been a challenge to sustainable development as well.

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Dishonesty, corruption and discrimination have not spared activities of FBOs and religious communities. It is evident that in some cases they ignore the poor.¹⁹ Reports that in Benin, the faith affiliated organizations represented the most prominent and effective protection network

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whereas in Malawi in the mid-1970s it is claimed that the annual budget of a prominent ecumenical organization (The Christian Service Committee of Churches of Malawi) was 1.5 times the size of the entire amount government allocated to development.²⁰

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Some of the development agencies fear that engagement with religious communities and FBOs may undermine the rights based approach especially in the promotion of equal gender relationships between women and men. The fear of religious extremism may lead to a negative shift on how FBOs and religious communities should be viewed as regards their role towards promotion of sustainable development.

There is also challenge of accountability that at times FBOs and religious communities fail to provide accountability to those whom the efforts and initiatives are basically called to serve thus abusing the principle of the preferential option for the poor.²²

²⁰ World Faiths Development Dialogue (WFDD), "The Provision of Services for Poor People: A Contribution to WDR 2004," 2003, www.wfdd.org.uk.

²¹ The UNDP, 2004.

²² Olav Fykse Tveit, "The Role of Religion in Sustainable Development and Peace," A Speech by the General Secretary, World Council of Churches, 2016 (www.oikoumene.org/en/resources/documents/general-secretary/speeches/the-role-of-religion-in-sustainable-development-and-peace.)

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At times religious communities and FBOs fail to advise and challenge ill political orders and, therefore, tend to shy away from such engagement, thus attempting to stay out of politics is increasingly unrealistic. Not only that, it is also argued that there are situations where increasing political instability in some parts of the world is effectively encouraged by faith inspired activism.²³

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²³ Religion and Development-Post, 2015.

Chapter 20: Understanding *Prasadam* as a Hare Krishna Movement's Initiative to Alleviate Poverty in Botswana

Elizabeth P. Motswapong

Introduction

In this chapter I will demonstrate how religion can be critical to the development of the country using Hare Krishna's *Prasadam* (Food for Life) as one of the initiatives that religion has used in a bid to alleviate poverty. But first, I will argue that religion has played a major role in developing Botswana as a country. Second, the International Society of Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) will be introduced as an Indian religion which was popularized in America and finally came to Botswana. Third, the chapter will argue that despite Botswana being a "rich country," many of her people continue to live in abject poverty because the government policies and programmes to remedy the situation are either short-lived or have failed because of abuse and misappropriation of funds. Since poverty continues to be rampant especially in rural areas, the chapter argues that ISKCON's *Prasadam* could be used as a paradigm to address the issue of poverty alleviation.

Religions of Botswana and Development

In Botswana religions have played a very critical role in the lives of the Batswana. James Amanze maintains that Muslims have embarked on a number of programmes where services have been taken outside the mosque to the less privileged in the society.¹ For example, street children are offered food in Old Naledi. This is in line with Islamic articles of faith, that of giving alms. Similarly, Christianity has built schools and hospitals across the country of Botswana. For example, we have Moeding College in Otse Village, Mater Spei in Francistown and St Joseph's

¹ James Amanze, *Islam in Botswana, 1882-1995*, Uppsala: African Association for the Study of Religion, 2000.

in Kgale. Likewise, Muslims have also built a school, for example Al Nur in Gaborone, with Pre-Primary, Primary and Secondary School branches.² Furthermore, there are hospitals like Bamalete Lutheran Hospital in Ramotswa as well as Kanye Seventh Day Adventist Hospital which were an initiative of Christianity. In addition, Satya Sai Baba, a new religious movement in Hinduism in Block 6 Gaborone has opened a clinic where consultation and medication are done for free by three doctors who volunteer their time and expertise. The Botswana Muslim Association has donated to many charities and natural disaster appeals, both locally, regionally and even internationally. In addition, on behalf of Islam, Muslim individuals and communities like the Dada Family Trust have large projects such as a clinic, while the Hajee Gulam Mustapha Charity Trust donated an orphanage.³

It is worth noting that the economy of the country has also been boosted by religions. For example, many business owners are practicing Muslims and have employed a sizeable number of the population in their businesses across the country. I have in mind Choppies Super Stores specifically. The issue of business monopoly came to the surface with the disgruntlement of Batswana small farmers during the debate of whether meat in the supermarkets should only be halal or else there was not going to be any business for Batswana. This resulted in the exclusion of small Batswana businesses since their meat was not prepared under the *halaal* specifications.⁴ ISKCON just like its counterparts have contributed to development of the Batswana in the form of their wellbeing. This means that a new strategy for fighting poverty has been introduced through community engagement strategies in the form of *prasadam*. Before introducing how ISKCON has stepped in to alleviate poverty, a brief overview of ISKCON will be given.

² F.R. Moorad, *History of Islam in Botswana*, https://bma.org.bw/common_up/bma/doc_219.%20Fazalur%20Rehman%20Moorad, [10.11.2017].

³ Ibid.

⁴ E.P. Motswapong and M.D. Kebaneilwe, "Many Paths to One God: Revisiting Ecumenism in the Era of Pluralism in Botswana," *BOLESWA Journal*, vol. 4.3, 2017.

What is ISKCON?

The International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON) is also popularly known as Hare Krishna. The term has three connotations. First it denotes a mantra (a verse that is used to invoke Lord Krishna). Second, it refers to the International Society for Krishna Consciousness; and last, it refers to the Society itself. The traditional Hindu view dates back to 5000 years ago, and there was a predecessor movement in India since the late first century under the name Gaudiya Vaishnava. However, Hare Krishna was founded in New York City in 1966 by Acharya Bhaktivedanta Prabhupada (1896-1977). He migrated to the United States at the age of 70 after being encouraged by his Guru, Bhaktisiddhanta Sarasvati Goswami to introduce the movement in the West. During his adult life and as a businessman, Prabhupada was initiated into Krishna Consciousness as a member of Gaudiya Vaishnava. The movement is based upon the philosophy of Chaitanya Mahaprabhu, who taught that the Hindu God Krishna is the supreme personal God. The Movement became popular after Prabhupada, but he was not the first to do so. Initially the movement was introduced by another teacher from Bengal called Baba Bharati. Unfortunately the movement died soon after his return to India.⁵ It was Acharya Bhaktivedanta who disseminated Gaudiya Vaishnava Theology in the Western world through extensive writings and translations including, *The Bhagavad Gita*, *Srimad Bhagavatam* (*Bhagavad Purana*), and *Chaitanya Charitamrita* and other scriptures. The *Bhagavad Gita* ("The Song of the Lord") is used as the Holy Scripture. This book is considered to be the literal truth by Hare Krishna adherents and was translated by the Founder under the title "*The Bhagavad Gita As It Is*."

In Botswana, ISKCON was introduced by H.H. Krishna Das Swami in 1996. It was gradually introduced through congregational chanting and discourses by the Daleep family who continue to be dedicated to the survival of the religion in Botswana. The movement boasts of about 200 families. Currently there is only one Batswana family that has converted to the movement. Due to its strictness on dietary rules, especially the

⁵ K. Pratap, *Hindus in South Africa: Their Traditions and Beliefs*, University of Durban Westville, 2000.

ones regarding meat eating and drinking alcohol, few Batswana have been attracted to the religion. Batswana, especially those in Gaborone and surrounding villages, are aware of the new movement's existence because of the Food for Life programme that it conducts. This will be discussed in detail later.

Poverty in the Land of Plenty

Poverty continues to be rife in Botswana despite the reports from world rankings where she is hailed as a beacon of economic management when compared to most African states. However, unemployment, poverty and inequality have remained major policy challenges. It is worth noting that poverty has many dimensions, therefore it is not only material deprivation. According to Siphambe, poverty is deprivation in well-being which can be measured by a number of indexes be it income or consumption but also by low achievements in education and wealth also known as "capability poverty."⁶ The causes of poverty in Botswana are also multifaceted. According to Siphambe, the most obvious one has been a result of "the country's economic base, limited income generation opportunities and a small domestic market."⁷ The economy dependent on mining has made the situation dire despite the small population that Botswana has. At the end of the day the results become "a skewed income distribution" to borrow Siphambe's words. As a result of these factors the country experiences unemployment and underemployment.

Furthermore, the semi-arid landscape of Botswana is detrimental to food production hence drought is always rampant, there is lack of educational skills and lack of productive assets. Policy failures and inappropriate targeting of programmes also contributed to the decline. Not only that, some social and economic structures have fallen apart which used to help the families during their times of need such as the extended family and the exchange of *dikgomo tsa mafisa*. This was a support system in place in support of the poor by the rich. This involved lending some cattle to the

⁶ H.K. Siphambe, "Dimensions and Measures to Reduce Poverty in Botswana," *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2003.

⁷ Ibid.

poorer members of society, who would usually look after them in return for a service in the form of milk and draught power as well.⁸

The Government Programmes for Poverty Alleviation

The government of Botswana over the years has also introduced policies in a bid to create employment and to alleviate poverty. Sekwati, Narayana and Raboloko have discussed at length these programmes, which have been summarized as Accelerated Rainfed Arable Programme (ARAP), Remote Area Development Programme (RADP), ALDEP (Arable Development Programme) and Food Agricultural Programme (FAP).⁹ These programmes were introduced as a bid to tackle poverty with the hope of reducing it. Although these programmes might have been very good initiatives, which when used wisely would have benefited Botswana, they were never implemented properly resulting in them being abused, because they were poorly monitored and not well targeted. Furthermore, these programmes were critiqued as contributing and adding woes to the Botswana government since they created a 'dependency syndrome' where a group of Botswana were now waiting for the government to spoon-feed them without making any effort to meet the government halfway.

In addition, the Botswana government introduced what has been termed simply as 'safety net' where the vulnerable and marginalized members of the society could be assisted. These included, among others, Orphanage Support Programme, World War II Veterans' Allowance and Old Age Pension.¹⁰ These safety nets were also not well targeted and were equally subject to abuse and fraudulent use by those who were not meant for the programme. Projects like *ipelegeng* (self-reliance) because they

⁸ Botswana Institute of Policy Analysis (BIDPA), *A Study of Poverty and Poverty Alleviation in Botswana*, 1997, p. 65.

⁹ L. Sekwati, N. Narayana and M. Raboloko, "Understanding the Nature of Poverty in Botswana," *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2012.

¹⁰ T.B. Seleka et al, *Social Safety Nets in Botswana: Administration Targeting and Sustainability*, Lighthouse Books, 2007. p. 9.

have contributed immensely in alleviating poverty.¹¹ However, they share the same sentiments voiced by Siphambe that these initiatives seem to have provided temporary relief and do not equip participants with skills which they can use in other sectors of the economy.¹² They continue to perpetuate a culture of dependency which is not sustainable in the long term. Lastly, Sekwati et al also see programmes like Integrated Support Programme for Arable Farming (ISPAAD) and the latest on the list being Back Yard Gardening having failed because most farmers are more oriented towards subsistence as opposed to commercial farming.¹³

The concerted efforts made by the government of Botswana have not yielded much fruit due to a number of issues ranging from abuse to mismanagement and fraudulent tendencies. Community service and engagement should target different aspects of human and community life. In this way, there will be an interface between religion and development where there is bridging and linking of networks. This is where Faith based institutions can come in to play a critical role in providing communities and making sure they have access to basic needs, like health care and food parcels. Can ISKCON *Prasadam* be the answer to that effect?

Prasadam: Food for Life

Prasadam is referred to in the Bhagavad Gita 3:13, 9:27 as a mental condition of generosity, as well as material substance that is first offered to a deity in Hinduism and then consumed. Literally, it can be seen to be a gracious gift given by a saint, Perfect Master or the Avatar and then distributed in His name. *Prasadam* has the deity's blessing residing within it. In contemporary Hindu religious practice in India, the desire to get *prasadam* and have *darshan* is the two major motivations of pilgrimages

¹¹ L. Sekwati, N. Narayana and M. Raboloko, "Understanding the Nature of Poverty in Botswana," *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2012, p. 76.

¹² H.K. Siphambe, "Dimensions and Measures to Reduce Poverty in Botswana," *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, vol. 17, no. 2, 2003.

¹³ L. Sekwati, N. Narayana and M. Raboloko, "Understanding the Nature of Poverty in Botswana," *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2012, p. 76.

and temple visits. In its material sense, *prasadam* is created by a process of giving and receiving between a human devotee and the divine god. For example, the devotee makes an offering of a material substance such as flowers, fruits or sweets – which is called *naivedya*. The deity then enjoys or tastes a bit of the offering which is temporarily known as *bhogya*. This is now divinely invested with a substance called *Prasadam*, and is received by the devotee to be ingested, worn, etc. It may be the same material that was originally offered, or material offered by others and then re-distributed to the devotees. It is worth noting that, whatever the devotee offers and however small, the Lord is pleased, because what is wanted is the heart of the devotee. In the Gita 3:13, 9 27 the Lord says:

Patram pushpam phala toyam yo me bhaktya prayacchati; Tadaham bhakti upah rita masa name prayat atmanah.

(Whoever offers a leaf, a flower, a fruit or even water with devotion, that I accept as it is offered with a loving heart).

Some strict Gaudiya Vaishnavas, most commonly initiated ISKCON devotees, will only eat *prasadam*, not simply a few items like most Hindus do. Their beliefs prescribe offering non-vegetarian items as well as onions, garlic and mushrooms to Krishna. It is worth noting that the cooking of *prasadam* is not done for their own consumption, but to offer to Krishna and the devotees simply receive the *joothan* (leftovers) of Krishna's food (which they consider non-different to Krishna).

Recently there have been cases of malnutrition in Botswana:

The increasing cases of malnutrition in the Kweneng district have been attributed to shortage of food commodities resulting in the insufficient supply to primary schools and health facilities in some areas in the district. This was revealed in a multi-sectoral report to the Drought Inter-ministerial Assessment Team presented by the Mogoditshane/Thamaga Sub -district.”¹⁴

ISKCON temples are known for providing free *prasadam* meals to all who come, as they believe that this is not only feeding the poor but providing them with Krishna's mercy food. ISKCON has inspired and

¹⁴ Kabaiditse Baitlotli of the Botswana Press Agency, [24.4.2017].

sometimes sponsored a project called Food for Life. The goal is to “liberally distribute pure vegetarian meals (*prasadam*) throughout the world.” This was inspired by Prabhupada’s instruction given to his disciple in 1973, when he said no person within temple reach should go hungry. An instruction was given food should be served immediately

This practice was based on this story:

One day it was Govardhana Puja and we built a big mountain of rice and fed many people. The people took their leaf plates after taking *prasadam*, and threw them behind the building. Prabhupada was living up on the second floor, and we were sitting in the room together. He heard dogs barking and kids shouting so he got up and walked back on the veranda behind his room. Looking over, he saw that there was this big pile of discarded leaf plates and there were little scraps of food on the plates. Some very poor children with sticks in their hands were fighting off hungry dogs, trying to get the scraps of food. When Prabhupada saw how these children were so hungry that they had to eat the things people threw away and how they were fighting with the dogs to get these scraps of food, tears swelled in his eyes and he said, “We have to see that nobody goes hungry within a ten mile radius. The temple is the house of God. God is everyone’s father, Krishna is everyone’s father. So in the presence of the father, the son doesn’t go hungry. So we have to make an arrangement that people get fed.” And so that was the inspiration for regular *prasadam* distribution.¹⁵

For reported cases of malnutrition in Botswana, like in the Kweneng district, *prasadam* will be effective. Instead of feeding only those within the temple's proximity, the Hare Krishna of Botswana, at Phase two, Balarama Temple, have taken an initiative to take *prasadam* out of the *mandir* (temple) to the people. They have been visiting villages like Mankodi, Mogoditshane and others to share *prasadam*. Since rural areas or small villages in Botswana tend to be the hardest hit when it comes to poverty, through *prasadam* poverty in Botswana can be fully

¹⁵ H.H. Jayapataka Swami, "Following Srila Prabhupada - A Chronological Series," <https://srilaprabhupadalila.org/read/3330>, [21.5.2019].

addressed, but this can only be possible if the government liaises with ISKCON.

This distribution of food by ISKCON has reabsorbed and remade the Hindu tradition of *Prasadam*, transforming it into a major vehicle of proselytization, a sacred cuisine, a health cure, a world charitable enterprise. King contextualizes ISKCON's food culture arguing that it emerges from the encounters between Chaitanya Vaishnavism and Modernity and the shifting patterns of overlap between Hindu and Western culture.¹⁶ The 'kitchen culture' has grown to incorporate eco-projects, free food distribution, mass food production and large-scale catering. These are used to restore human physical health and health of the planet when affluent nations are eating themselves to death. Emphasis is on ethically sourced food and sustainable lifestyle, thereby increasing the harmony with international plans for environmental protection and climate change. This is what Botswana needs at the moment.

Conclusion

Although ISKCON is relatively new to the Batswana, the *prasadam* initiative is a welcome development that can address a number of issues, but importantly it can be used to alleviate poverty in Botswana, especially in rural Botswana where there are cases of some individuals going to bed on a hungry stomach. Not only that, through liaisons with the government ISKCON can play a very important role in supplying the dietary needs of Batswana, especially of children under five years, who have been shown to be threatened by malnutrition because the rations they get are not nutritionally balanced. Lastly, the aging population can also benefit health wise through *prasadam*. *Prasadam* is one contribution where religion has the potential to develop the country, not materially or spiritually but physically by taking care of her people's health.

¹⁶ A.S. King, "Krishna's Prasadam: Eating our Way back to the God Head," *Journal of Objects, Art and Belief*, vol. 8, issue 4, <http://dx.doi.org/10.275183412x1352206994773>, [10.11.2017].

Chapter 21: "Let My People Go." An Exploration of the Exodus Experience in the Light of Development in Southern Africa

Zekia Mujaho and Vengesai Chimininge

Introduction

This chapter seeks to examine how the Exodus experience in the Bible can assist us to transform our societies in Southern Africa. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first part gives a situation analysis of Africa in general. This is followed by an exploration of the concept of development. Lastly, we examine how the Exodus event can help us to understand development in Africa by considering the Exodus experience as a theological theme which has its meaning beyond the happenings as depicted in the book of Exodus. To understand development in Africa, we examine the theological dynamics of the Exodus, basing it on the Scriptural text and looking back to its socio-cultural context. The chapter argues that a mutual and continuous interaction between events, text and context gives meaning to the event for all times. The authors of this chapter are convinced that the Exodus event unveils the nature of God, of the world and of humanity.

Southern Africa and Development: A Situation Analysis

The Millennium Development Goals of 2000 and the Sustainable Development Goals of 2015 show that the international community agreed on a common platform and agenda to work in harmony in the efforts to alleviate extreme poverty in the world. The United Nations made commitments to a new global partnership to reduce poverty. For instance, the MDGs and SDGs have not only identified the targets but also a timeframe within which to achieve these goals. The United Nations has acknowledged that poverty is a multi-dimensional phenomenon and the dimensions include low income, hunger, disease and exclusion of groups from the society. A close analysis of the SDGs and MDGs clearly indicate that these goals are there to promote policies that assist the world to

reduce gender inequalities, increase literacy rates, environmental sustainability and empower people to better opportunities. However, it should be noted that despite all these efforts, Africa South of the Sahara is still facing development challenges if we compare it with other regions of the world. According to a preliminary report on "Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa," Africa South of the Sahara is the only region in the world where poverty in terms of proportion of the poor has been rising over time and where the poor are relatively worse off than their counterparts in other parts of the world.¹ It is characterized by extremely low per capita GDP and savings rates and, as a result, most countries in Southern Africa are in dire need of substantial public investment through external assistance to reverse the current poverty trends. The 2005 UN Millennium Project Report provides a comprehensive review of the progress made towards the MDGs and identifies challenges in meeting these goals. In his general remarks, the UN Secretary General argued that Africa South of the Sahara is off track to meet the MDGs. It has the highest rate of undernourishment, with one-third of the population below the minimum level of dietary energy consumption.² According to this report, Africa South of the Sahara is burdened by poor geographical endowments and the region has the highest risks associated with agriculture, transport, and diseases. It is in light of this background that this chapter attempts to examine the notion of development in Southern Africa by taking a leaf from the book of Exodus. Our argument here is that some if not all of the development indicators such as education, health, nutrition, peace, and control of resources are found in the Exodus event.

Meaning of Development

There is too much ignorance and pretence in the understanding of the term development. As a result, different definitions have been propounded. According to the Penguin English Dictionary,³ development

¹ "A Preliminary Report: Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Situation in the OIC Member Countries," Ankara: Turkey, February, 2007," www.sesric.org/files/article/233.pdf.

² UN Report, 2005.

³ *Penguin English Dictionary*, 1977.

implies movement from one level to another or an increase in quality of some sort. The Human Development Report defines development as "the purpose to create an environment in which all people can expand their capabilities and opportunities and can be enlarged for both present and future generations."⁴

The UNICEF report asserts that:

The time has come when the progress of a nation should be judged not by the splendor of their cities and public buildings, but by the well-being of their people; by their levels of health, nutrition and education, by their opportunities to earn a fair reward for their labours, their ability to participate in the decisions that affect their lives, by the respect that is shown for their civil and political liberties, by the provision that is made for those who are vulnerable and disadvantaged and by protection that is afforded to the growing minds and bodies of their children.⁵

The above quotation shows that development has erroneously been used, understood and associated with glamorous cities, yet from a normative perspective, development is about people not physical structures or materials.⁶ To this we add, development can be measured by the degree to which gender gaps and other disparities are reduced. This is the extent to which boys and girls, men and women are empowered to critically think, to make choices and to control their lives. We can realize this kind of development only if we understand the central issues of poverty, gender, education, environment and health. This means that development should be seen as a process that moves a society from less human to more human conditions. Such a process will increase the life chances and life choices of all people. The 'good life' is more than economic growth or the construction of physical infrastructure such as schools, roads, water supply systems and many more.

⁴ The Human Development Report, 1994, p. 6.

⁵ UNICEF Report, 1994, p. 6.

⁶ J.O. Abagi, "Gender and Education: the Conceptual Framework," A Paper Presented at the Training of Trainers' Workshop for GIAT Members, Masinga Tourist Lodge, January 1-4; Human Development Report, UNDP, 1994, p. 52.

Broadly speaking, the term development may be defined as positive social, economic and political change in a country or community. In the context of this chapter, development is perceived as something concerned with positive change in existing human societies and such success of development efforts can be measured by the results seen by that society. The question, though, is how do we define 'positive'? How do we determine when change is positive rather than negative? It is difficult to define what constitutes positive change. Suffice it to say that the idea of development is connected with the idea of social, economic and political improvement.

The Historical Background of the Concept of Development

After World War II most of the countries that were outside North America and Europe (many of them former colonized territories) were viewed as seriously underdeveloped and they were to be transformed into "modern developed nations." These societies included Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, the Middle East, etc.⁷ To this day, these countries are peopled mainly by non-Europeans. They are referred to as the Third World, underdeveloped countries, developing countries, less developed countries (LDCs), or non-industrialized countries. Therefore, even to this day, the term development is largely used focused on these regions.

The big dilemma, though, is that while the concern for development arises in response to the gross inequalities and also the absolute poverty which is generated by the world economy, the situation seems to have been getting worse in the last thirty years. The last thirty years or so have seen increased and expanded communication systems and expanded educational systems and food production, but also inequality and poverty are growing. Historically, Third World countries are relatively powerless on the world stage and are in a process of chaotic change, with rapidly expanding populations and large numbers of people living in poverty.⁸ As a result, the inequalities in the third world are even greater. This is

⁷ J. Hartung, "Love Thy Neighbour. The Evolution of In-Group Morality," *Skeptic* 3(5), 1995.

⁸ M. Juergensmeyer, *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*, Updated edition, Oakland: University of California Press, 2001.

characterized by wide-spread mass poverty, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. Thus, the notion of development was equated with the issue of progress. For instance, if certain socio-economic changes occur in a poor society, it will become 'developed.' Such development was, therefore, thought to be measurable primarily through economic indicators. This led to an emphasis on economic growth. If the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per capita was increasing, then the country was developing. It should be noted that while economic growth may facilitate the improvement of living conditions for the ordinary people, there is considerable evidence from a variety of countries that economic growth often only benefits the powerful and the already well off.

This conventional view of development being economic growth was questioned by Deneulin and Masooda.⁹ For them, the following questions were posed during economic development/growth: what has been happening to poverty? What has been happening to employment? What has been happening to inequality? If all three have declined from high levels, then without doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned.¹⁰ If one or two of these central problems have been increasing, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call that development.

Core Values for Development

Notions of development are ultimately based on the values of 'good life' or how a society can move from being 'less human' to 'more human.'¹¹ Three core values for true development that would make society 'more human' are identified and these are: sustenance, self-esteem and freedom from servitude.

⁹ S. Deneulin and Masooda, *Religion in Development: Rewriting the Sacred Script*, London: Zed Books, 2009.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in the Theory of Development*, Cambridge University Press, 1971.

According to Goulet sustenance is the ability to meet basic human needs such as food, shelter, health and protection.¹² This implies that if any of these are absent or in limited supply, then society is less human. Self-esteem is described by Goulet as a sense of worth and self-respect and of not being used by others.¹³ Societies develop ways of providing recognition and identity. But these may be challenged when values of an alien society are superimposed upon the local culture. Thus, in many colonized societies, there has been alienation and loss of self-esteem by the local people as they have been confronted and often overwhelmed by alien values. In contemporary western societies self-esteem is often sought through material possessions. Freedom from servitude entails freedom from the debilitating material conditions of life as well as social freedom from the oppression of others, of institutions and of ideologies and belief systems. The key is to expand the choices available to human beings.

Be that as it may, we are of the conviction that development can safely take place when there is peace in the country, and when there is equality of governance (democracy) and economic growth. It is only when people migrate from poverty, ignorance and diseases, thereby receiving quality education, when we can safely say development has taken place.¹⁴ This makes the term development to be considered as human oriented and we can safely say that development is not about big cars, sky scrapers and tarred roads, but it is about people.

The Exodus Experience

The Exodus is inextricably bound with themes of God's revelation (Ex 3), covenant and law (Ex 19 – Deuteronomy). In order to understand

¹² Gerrie ter Haar and S. Ellis, "The Role of Religion in Development: Towards a New Relationship between the European Union and Africa," *The European Journal of Development Research*, 18(3), 2006.

¹³ Denis Goulet, *The Cruel Choice: A New Concept in the Theory of Development*, Cambridge University Press, 1971.

¹⁴ Akhtar Shibba, 1991, p. 64, in Gerrie ter Haar and S. Ellis, "The Role of Religion in Development: Towards a New Relationship between the European Union and Africa," *The European Journal of Development Research*, 18(3), 2006.

its typology and its reverberations in Scripture, it is better to read accounts of the Exodus (Ex 12-15) in the context of Israel's last days in Egypt and her wilderness wanderings. The Exodus story is told in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy.¹⁵ The historicity of the Exodus story has long been a subject of debate, but this is not the focus of this chapter since we consider the Exodus event as essentially historical, religious and developmental in nature. The overall intent is to demonstrate God's actions in history, to recall Israel's bondage and salvation, thereby demonstrating true human development, both physical and spiritual.¹⁶

The historical context to the Book of Exodus is presented in the first chapter. Israel was in Egypt, Joseph was dead along with all those of his generation, and the new Pharaoh had no idea who Joseph was or what he had done for Egypt.¹⁷ In the course of time Israel had multiplied greatly, in fulfillment of Yahweh's word of promise to Abraham (Gen 13:16), and the Egyptians began to view the sons of Israel as a potential threat to their security. To neutralize that threat, the Egyptians forced the sons of Israel into bondage and made them to serve Egypt with hard labour. But the more that Egypt afflicted Israel, the more the Israelites multiplied and spread out over the land.

George Edayadiyil argues that the socio-cultural context of Exodus has two distinct aspects: from the beginning up to the Exodus, and then from the Exodus to the end of the book.¹⁸ Initially Israel is living in bondage to the Egyptians and subject to their desires. During this time they live in a social community of houses and likely villages perhaps organized around their tribal clans. Although they are subject to harsh labour, they apparently live moderately well having plenty of food to eat.

¹⁵ K.L. Sparkes, "Genre Criticism," in Thomas B Dozeman, *Methods for Exodus*, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

¹⁶ B. Russell, *Has Religion Made Useful Contributions to Civilization?* Kansas: Haldeman-Julius Publications, 2009.

¹⁷ George Edayadiyil, *Beyond Exodus: The Exodus as a Paradigm for Interpretation of the Bible and History*, Bangalore: Asian Trading Corporation, 2011.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

However, with the Exodus, all that changes. Though they are now free from Egyptian domination, they are now subject to Yahweh. Whereas before they lived in a sedentary way in houses and villages, they are now living in tents and are wandering in the wilderness and then encamped at Mount Sinai. Furthermore, food and water, which were plentiful in Egypt, are now scarce in both quantity and type, and they are totally dependent on Yahweh to provide everything for them.

The theological element of Exodus looks back on Genesis and subsumes all of its theological revelation as its context. However, major additions to this context must be made as Yahweh reveals Himself through His mighty plagues brought against the Egyptians; through the covenant-relationship He proposes to Israel; through His laws specified in the Mosaic Covenant; through His anger and wrath which He brings against Israel for their disobedience to the covenant stipulations; but also through His grace and mercy which He extends to Israel in response to the mediation of Moses.

In addition to the Abrahamic Covenant, the single most dominant addition to the theological context for understanding Exodus is the Mosaic Covenant and the covenant relationship which it specifies between Yahweh and Israel. This addition to the theological context controls not only the understanding of Exodus but of the rest of the Pentateuch and indeed the rest of the Old Testament. So important is this covenant to Israel's history that when the New Testament era opens, we find Jesus living under it.¹⁹

The Exodus Event in the Light of Development in Southern Africa

From our reading of the book of Exodus, we are told that about four hundred years prior to the Exodus, there had been serious hunger throughout the world of that time, but food was abundant in Egypt. Joseph, one of the twelve sons of Israel, was one of the key people. Because of hunger and Joseph's presence in Egypt, Israel ended up living in Egypt. We are of the opinion that during the time of Joseph, there was human

¹⁹ Ibid.

development among the Israelites. They stayed in fertile lands (Goshen), their way of life improved and they were increasing in numbers. However, even though Joseph was part of the kingship in Egypt, he did not own the land and neither did any Israelite. The Egyptians owned the land.

After Joseph's death, the rulers of Egypt, the owners of the land, who came later did not know the history of Joseph, and they were worried about the "development" of Israel so they turned the Israelites into slaves to suppress their development. It must be emphasized that the landowners enslaved them to prevent "human development." When one is a slave, one is bound to follow what the master wants. This can even extend to the worshipping of the master's gods which in turn could even lead Israel to forgetting their God. It is not surprising that even Moses had forgotten the name of their God. God introduced Himself to Moses at the time He was calling him (Ex. 3:6) "Then he said, 'I am the God of your father, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob.' At this, Moses hid his face, because he was afraid to look at God." Note how Moses responded (Ex. 3:13): Moses said to God, "Suppose I go to the Israelites and say to them, 'The God of your fathers has sent me to you,' and they ask me, 'What is his name?' Then what shall I tell them?" Israel no longer remembered the name of their God.

The task at hand before Moses was first to go and reintroduce the God of Israel to the Israelites and then advise them that it was their God who was going to take them out of bondage in Egypt. Indeed with miracles and wonders Moses took the Israelites out of slavery. The Book of Exodus is full of the theme "Let my people go, so that they may worship me" (like in Ex. 8:20). Then the LORD said to Moses, "Get up early in the morning and confront Pharaoh as he goes to the water and say to him, 'This is what the LORD says: Let my people go, so that they may worship me.'"

Not only was Exodus for the sake of freedom, but also to worship the God of their fathers and to possess Canaan.

Therefore, say to the Israelites: 'I am the LORD, and I will bring you out from under the yoke of the Egyptians. I will free you from being slaves to them, and I will redeem you with an outstretched arm and with mighty acts of judgment. I will take you as my own people, and I will be your God. Then you will know that I am the LORD your God, who

brought you out from under the yoke of the Egyptians. And I will bring you to the land I swore with uplifted hand to give to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob. I will give it to you as a possession. I am the LORD (Ex. 6:6-8).

It is important to note that on the departure of the enslaved Israelites, the oppressors (the Egyptians), were inclined to give a lot of wealth to the once oppressed. The journey of Israel from Egypt to Canaan was no ordinary journey, but a "classroom" journey. Education appears to be the pivotal purpose of making the journey longer than what was expected. Moses was the main lecturer throughout the journey. Mosaic teachings covered God's Law, how to worship God, moral law, what to eat and not to eat, the emphasis being on Godly living. With such a large number of people moving in the desert, "health care" and care of the environment were of utmost importance as the Israelites were encouraged to get outside the camp, to dig, squat and cover. Maybe the idea of the pit latrine was mooted here. In times of need fresh clean water (water from the rock) and a balanced diet (mana and quails) were provided. Finally, when Israel arrived in the Promised Land, Canaan, there was equitable distribution of the most important resource, land, among all the twelve tribes of Israel. No one was left out.

The journey of Israel from Egypt to Canaan, the Promised Land, was to demonstrate God's actions in history, to recall Israel's bondage and salvation, and to demonstrate the fulfilment of Israel's salvation.²⁰ Historically, religion has proven to be a primary force for social cohesion, motivating individuals and groups to develop qualities which contribute to the betterment of their relationships and their communities. Generally, such qualities include compassion, love, justice, unity, guardianship and service.

²⁰ C.A. Redmount, "Bitter Lives: Israel In and Out of Egypt," in Michael D. Coogan, *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, Oxford University Press, 2001.

Conclusion

Our focus was specifically on the potential role of religion as an agent of development. It is important for development practitioners to realize that people's full range of resources, economic, political, social, religious and spiritual provide the foundation for any development strategy. The Exodus of Israel from Egypt to Canaan, thus, illustrates a true human development. It started with the transfer of wealth from the oppressors, the Egyptians, to the slaves, the Israelites, then the physical movement out of slavery. Formation into a nation then followed during the journey, a nation with rules, Godly rules and earthly rules. Education was a major component of the journey. In a free environment, the Land, Canaan, was equitably shared among the people of Israel. Thus, true human development was envisaged and continued. All the tenets of development as described in the definition of development (political, socio-cultural, economic and environmental) were realized by the Israelites during the Exodus. Over and above this, we see the role of religion to facilitate and create a bond in a community, hence promoting development.

Chapter 22: Some Leadership Lessons from Ezra-Nehemiah for African Development

Lovemore Togarasei and Lebogang Moeti

Based on the assumption that the Bible continues to speak to the majority of people in Africa, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, this chapter discusses leadership lessons that can be derived from a close study of the books of Ezra-Nehemiah from a leadership studies perspective. The chapter also takes for granted the long made observation that most of Africa's development problems are a result of poor leadership or even total lack of leadership in some instances. Because most developmental projects in many African states are driven by political leaders, the chapter focuses on both church and political leadership since the church remains with a very influential voice in these African states.

Introduction

Relative to other world regions, Africa, especially sub-Saharan Africa, is the least economically developed region in the world. Almost all development indicators confirm this sad reality. Jordanna Packtor gives ten facts about poverty in Africa. One such fact is worth noting here:

Seventy-five percent of the world's poorest countries are located in Africa, including Zimbabwe, Liberia and Ethiopia. The Central African Republic is ranked the poorest in the world with a GDP per capita of \$656 in 2016.¹

According to Gallup World, in 2013, the 10 countries with the highest proportion of residents living in extreme poverty were all in sub-Saharan

¹ Jordanna Packtor, "Top 10 Poverty in Africa Facts," <https://borgenproject.org/10-quick-facts-aboutpoverty-in-africa/>, 2015, [17.10.2017].

Africa.² Extreme poverty is defined as living on \$1.25 or less a day.³ Approximately one in three people living in sub-Saharan Africa is undernourished according to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations 2010 report.⁴ This is the highest percentage of any region in the world. Apart from food, Africa lacks electricity, clean water and good sanitation services.

Every year, sub-Saharan Africa misses out on about \$30 billion as productivity is compromised by water and sanitation problems. This amount accounts for approximately five percent of the region's gross domestic product (GDP), exceeding the total amount of foreign aid sent to sub-Saharan Africa in 2003. There is therefore no debate concerning the fact that Africa lags behind in terms of development. Scholarly debates are on the causes of Africa's underdevelopment. Many reasons have been suggested to explain this severe underdevelopment: lack of adherence to policy, weak institutions, erratic and frequent leadership changes.⁵ Jeffrey Sachs adds Africa's geography as one of the main causes of underdevelopment.⁶ According to this argument, the tropical climate, a sparsely populated terrain and large inland populations make it difficult for Africa to develop. Tropical diseases such as HIV, malaria, dengue fever and sleeping sickness, increase health costs and reduce the benefits of education as people do not live long. At the same time, a sparse population and lack of navigable rivers increases transport costs within Africa as compared to other regions in the world. These higher transport costs may account in part for poorer infrastructure networks and lower

² Glenn Phelps and Steve Crabtree, "More than One in Five Worldwide Living in Extreme Poverty," <https://news.gallup.com/poll/166565/one-five-worldwide-living-extreme-poverty.aspx>, 2013 [20.6.2016].

³ Ibid.

⁴ Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations, *The State of Food Security in the World*, Rome: FAO, 2010.

⁵ Issa Afegbua Salami and David Adejuwon Kehinde, "The Challenges of Leadership and Governance in Africa," *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, vol. 2, 9, 2012, p. 141.

⁶ Jeffrey Sachs, "Institutions don't Rule: Direct Effect of Geography on per Capita Income," *NBER Working Paper*, no. W9490, 2003.

levels of income. Finally, Jeffrey Sachs argues that the proportion of the total population living in coastal regions is lower in Africa than in all other regions.⁷ Given that transport costs are lower by sea than over land, this makes exports from Africa relatively expensive and thus less competitive, which also leads to lower incomes. These arguments as advanced by Sachs certainly explain some of the reasons why Africa is underdeveloped. However, econometric analysis by many economists, chiefly Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson, has shown that these geographic factors only account for 25% of the income differences between Africa and other world regions.⁸

In addition to the above reasons, other explanations emphasize the effects of colonialism on African development. These arguments either focus on the expropriation of wealth by colonial governments or the institutional impacts on African politics. Following in the tracks of Walter Rodney who blamed Europe for Africa's underdevelopment,⁹ Acemoglu, Johnson and Robinson explain how colonial governments in Africa were designed so as to extract the maximum amount of wealth from the population.¹⁰ These systems of government were usually repressive, authoritarian and vulnerable to corruption. Acemoglu and Robinson also show that the institutions of colonialism have persisted into the post-colonial period and that this contributes significantly to Africa's underdevelopment.¹¹ This is because poor institutions, such as lack of protection from government expropriation, corruption in government bureaucracy or high levels of crime, discourage local and foreign investment and therefore inhibit

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson, "Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 117 (4), 2002.

⁹ Walter Rodney, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, Washington DC: Howard University Press, 1982.

¹⁰ Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson, "Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, vol. 117 (4), 2002.

¹¹ Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson, "De Facto Political Power and Institutional Persistence," *The American Economic Review*, vol. 96:2, 2006.

development and economic growth. Post-colonial scholars also argue that colonialism did not only rob Africa of its resources, but also of its people's pride, self-worth and self-belief. Frantz Fanon, for example, argues that colonialism has deep psychological effects that create a long lasting sense of inferiority and subjugation.¹² These effects are a barrier to growth and innovation needed for development. It is clear that many years after colonialism, Africa is still dependent heavily on its former colonizers in language, economy, technology, philosophy, education and all other development aspects. Thus, Dambisa Moyo even finds foreign aid as contributing to African underdevelopment through promoting dependency.¹³ This colonial hangover is most common with some of Africa's leaders from the generation of liberators who have now turned from being victims of colonial injustices to being perpetrators of injustices upon their own people. Thus post-colonial scholars like Fanon suggest that Africa needs a new generation of leaders free from colonial thought and mindset to move the continent forward.¹⁴

However, as we search for the causes of Africa's underdevelopment, it is important to note here that both India and China, two of the world's fastest growing economies, have also been through periods of colonization by the British and Japanese respectively. But, unlike Africa, these countries have significantly improved developmentally, thus increasing life expectancy and reducing poverty. In our opinion, the differentiating factor here has been the quality of leadership and national cohesion. In both China and India, the quality of institutions has increased significantly since colonial times. The ease of doing business ratings and the transparency ratings of these countries vastly outperform African countries. These cases demonstrate the importance of civil and political leadership in order to improve development standards in the region. Thus, this chapter argues that African underdevelopment is mainly a result of poor leadership: political, religious and social. Indeed, literature confirms that leaders (especially political leaders) have a great influence on the

¹² Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, London: Pluto, 1986.

¹³ Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and how there is Another Way for Africa*, London: Penguin, 2009, p. 67.

¹⁴ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, London: Pluto, 1986.

development process of a nation or society. Brown and Mitchell, for example, argue that leadership has the power to build or destroy organizations.¹⁵ The potential of good leadership for the development of Africa was demonstrated by Thomas Sankara.¹⁶ In the four years he ruled Burkina Faso (1983-1987), Thomas Sankara demonstrated that with good leadership, Africa can develop in a short space of time. He demonstrated what can be achieved through good leadership and a cohesive national identity. United under his leadership, Burkina Faso was able to fight corruption, disease and poverty. Literacy levels improved from 13% to 73%. He dealt with the land problem facing many African countries today. He redistributed land from the feudal landlords directly to the peasants, making the country self-sufficient within three years. Not only did he personally refuse the luxuries of most presidents in the world, he reduced the salaries of all public servants, including his own. He sold the government fleet of Mercedes Benz and made the Renault 5 the official government car. He forbade the use of first class airline tickets and appointed women to higher government positions. Under his leadership, the country was able to improve the general infrastructure without the financial support from multilateral financial institutions.

Taking from the example of Sankara, it can be argued that Africa therefore needs to promote good leadership to take herself out of the current developmental challenges. In this chapter, we argue that the books of Ezra-Nehemiah may provide some of the lessons Africa needs as she develops post-colonial leaders. We follow in the footsteps of post-colonial scholars like Franz Fanon who have argued that Africa needs a new generation of leaders free from colonial thought and mindset. But why using the books of Ezra-Nehemiah?

Ezra-Nehemiah: Background of the Books

We propose the use of some leadership lessons from Ezra-Nehemiah because these books originated from a context that shares a lot with post-

¹⁵ M. Brown and M. Mitchell, "Ethical and Unethical Leadership: Exploring New Avenues for Future Research," *Business Ethics Quarterly*, vol. 20:4, 2010.

¹⁶ Emmanuel Katongole, *The Sacrifice of Africa: A Political Theology for Africa*, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2011.

colonial Africa. The books are associated with the reconstruction of the Israelite community following the Babylonian exile and colonial domination from 587 to 537 BCE. There are heated debates concerning the chronological order of the works of the two individuals. The debates arise mainly from the problem of dating Ezra's ministry.¹⁷ Although this date has no direct implications for the purposes of this chapter, we shall proceed by assuming that Nehemiah appeared before Ezra. Taking this chronological assumption, Zerubbabel led the first group of returning Israelites following Cyrus' edict of 587 BCE (Ezra 1-6). This group was responsible for the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple that was completed in about 515 BCE. Nehemiah then appeared in about 445 BCE to rebuild the walls of the city of Jerusalem (Nehemiah 1-6). With the Temple and wall rebuilt, Ezra then followed about 428 BCE to rebuild the religious life of the new post-exilic community (Ezra 7-10). Thus, the ministries of Ezra and Nehemiah involved rebuilding structures and institutions that had been ravaged by exile and colonialism. No wonder many African theologians have read Ezra-Nehemiah for the reconstruction of post-colonial African communities, communities that were also ravaged by colonialism.

Ezra-Nehemiah in African Theology

The books of Ezra-Nehemiah have been used in African theology to argue for what has come to be called Reconstruction Theology. This theology was originally proposed by Jesse Mugambi of Kenya who saw the reconstruction programmes of these books as reminiscent of post-colonial Africa.¹⁸ Reconstruction theology therefore aims to transform all structures that expose Africans to poverty, injustice, oppression, imperial rule, patrimonial states and gender imbalance. The theology calls the Church to be involved in the civil life of the people through promotion of forgiveness, reconciliation, non-violence and human rights. The

¹⁷ John Drane, *Introducing the Old Testament*, San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987, p. 179; Bernhard W. Anderson, *The Living Word of the Old Testament*, London: Longman, 1993, p. 531.

¹⁸ Jesse N.K. Mugambi, *From Liberation to Reconstruction: African Christian Theology after the Cold War*, Nairobi: East African Education Publishers, 1995.

objective is to allow Africans to live a dignified life free of human rights abuses, rampant corruption, tribalism or sexism. In this context, the Church therefore encourages multi-party systems, free and transparent elections and public debates on all social issues affecting people. Theology of reconstruction values religious differences, taking them as constructive ways of being, in living dialogue and in search of communion with all God's creatures.

Mugambi's call for a reconstruction theology as a new alternative for African theology was generally well received. Charles Villa-Vicencio of South Africa, Jose Chipenda of Angola, Kā Mana of the Democratic Republic of Congo and John Mary Walligo of Uganda all embraced the theology suggesting ways in which it could be used in their own countries. They argued, together with Mugambi, that like the post-exilic Israelite community, Africa is living in a post-slavery, post-colonial and post-cold war era; an era that threatened African land, human resources, culture and religion. Recent supporters of the call are Julius Mutugi Gathogo¹⁹ and Josia Kinyua Murage.²⁰ Murage, for example, sees the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), a programme proposed by Thabo Mbeki, former president of South Africa, as being, "in line with the theology of reconstruction which is geared towards the renewal of Africa's socio-economic and political structures."²¹

There are some scholars, however, who are pessimistic about the call for a reconstruction theology. One such scholar is Tinyiko Sam Maluleke of South Africa who is of the view that reconstruction theology will not serve the needs of ordinary Africans but the same needs of Africa's former oppressors.²² Maluleke also criticizes reconstruction theology for

¹⁹ Julius Mutugi Gathogo, "A Survey of an African Theology of Reconstruction (ATOR)," *Swedish Missiological Themes*, vol. 95:2, 2007, pp. 123-148.

²⁰ Josia Kinyua Murage, "Development and Reconstruction Theologies of Africa," *Swedish Missiological Themes*, vol. 5:2, 2007.

²¹ Ibid, p. 149.

²² Tinyiko Sam Maluleke, "Half a Century of African Christian Theologies: Elements of the Emerging Agenda for the 21st Century," in J.N.K. Mugambi (ed), *The Church and Reconstruction of Africa*, Nairobi: All Africa Conference of Churches, 1997.

pushing away older African theologies of inculturation and liberation which he thinks still have a role to play in post-colonial Africa.²³ Other scholars criticized Mugambi for the choice of books he made to propose reconstruction. U.C. Manus of Nigeria, for example, criticized Mugambi for failing to recognize and use the figure of Jesus to call for reconstruction.²⁴ For him Jesus is the Master Reconstructor of every society and therefore his figure should be used to call for a reconstruction theology. Another serious critic of the methodology of reconstruction theology is Masiwa Ragies Gunda of Zimbabwe.²⁵ Gunda, like Maluleke, has problems with the divisive and superior nature of reconstruction theology in its dismissal of earlier African theologies. His major criticism though is that reconstruction theology is based on the wrong assumption that Africa is now independent.²⁶ Wrestling with the meaning of 'independence', he sees many Africans as not independent from dictatorial leaders. Gunda sees many Africans as only having changed oppressors, from white to black, from foreign oppression to oppression by their own brothers and sisters. In view of this, Gunda fumes with rage against Mugambi's call for a reconstruction theology to support NEPAD. For Gunda, the problem of Africa lies with its leadership, both in Church and in politics. Reconstruction therefore should focus on addressing this poor leadership that Gunda believes is the major cause of Africa's calamities.²⁷ Following in the footsteps of Gunda, we therefore call for Africa's use of good leadership lessons that can be derived from the ministries of Ezra and Nehemiah. Like Salami Issa Afegbua and Kehinde David Adejuwon,²⁸ we argue that good leadership should be ethical.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ C. Ukachukwu Manus, *Intercultural Hermeneutics in Africa: Methods and Approaches*, Nairobi: Acton, 2003.

²⁵ Masiwa R. Gunda, "African Theology of Reconstruction: The Painful Realities and Practical Options!" *Exchange*, vol. 38:1, 2009, pp. 84-102.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Issa Afegbua Salami and David Adejuwon Kehinde, "The Challenges of Leadership and Governance in Africa," *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences*, vol. 2 (9), 2012, pp. 141-157.

Lessons from the Ezra-Nehemiah Leadership Model

Reading the Bible for social transformation does not come without its own problems. Indeed questions can be asked on the extent to which biblical teachings, especially from the Old Testament, should guide Christian practice today. In the case of the books of Ezra-Nehemiah we are proposing to utilize for leadership improvement in Africa, there are a number of questions that have been raised concerning their relevance to today's Christians.²⁹ The books' advocacy for endogamy and religious and cultural exclusivism runs contrary to contemporary values of inclusiveness, connectedness, unity in diversity, plurality, tolerance and love. Ezra's call for Israelite men to divorce their Gentile wives would be found totally unacceptable today by advocates of gender justice and children's welfare. Be that as it may, biblical texts remain quite attractive as sources of teaching and morality as evidenced by frequent biblical quotations by not only church ministers but politicians as well. They provide the basis for moral values even among non-Christians. Thus, in sub-Saharan Africa where Christian communities make an average of 80% of many national populations, biblical based values may go a long way when used for social transformation. The books of Ezra-Nehemiah therefore provide such useful values for good leadership, a trait most required for African development today. We agree that leadership should be practiced at every level of society, but in this chapter we discuss the leadership lessons from Ezra-Nehemiah by focusing on two groups of leaders: religious and political. We focus on these two groups believing that they hold a lot of influence for African development. Unfortunately, they are presently not providing the required leadership as, in the words of E.

²⁹ Our approach is to consider general qualities from Ezra and Nehemiah that we consider provide good lessons for leaders in Africa. Other approaches discuss Ezra and Nehemiah's leaderships separately. Some of those approaches disparage Nehemiah's leadership accusing him of lacking modesty and humility (Toby Birnbaum and Hershey H. Friedman, "Lessons in Leadership from Isaiah," *SS International Journal of Economics and Management*, vol. 3 (1), 2013, pp. 56-70).

Nihinlola, the religious leaders are full of deceit and bigotry while the political leadership is characterized by disorientation and perfidy.³⁰

Leadership Lessons for Church Leaders

The Church has played a key role in the history of African development. From establishing hospitals to establishing schools, the Church has been the torch bearer of African development. The first political leaders of independent Africa were mainly products of missionary/church education. Thanks to the visionary church leadership of yesteryears. Unfortunately, a worrying trend is arising among contemporary church leaders. Instead of developing people, many contemporary church leaders, especially from the Pentecostal and Charismatic fold, are concentrating on enriching themselves at the expense of the people. These leaders may definitely learn a number of lessons from the leadership examples of Ezra and Nehemiah.

First, the books of Ezra-Nehemiah show that a good leader is one called by God. Both Ezra's and Nehemiah's leadership was providential. In fact, throughout the Old Testament, God calls specific individuals to specific missions. In the prophetic books, the divine call is a criterion for a true prophet. Both Ezra and Nehemiah are called and sent to perform specific tasks in post-exilic Jerusalem. This runs against many of the contemporary African religious leaders who seem to be attracted into ministry for material gain rather than by divine providence. As leaders called by God, Ezra and Nehemiah continued in conversation and consultation with God through prayer and good ethical conduct. Ezra continuously gave tribute for all his achievements to God rather than to himself (Ezra 7:6, 9, 28; 8:12, 18, 31). This is a trait that seems to be absent in many contemporary church leaders who are filled with personal pride and self-indulgence.

A second leadership trait that the contemporary African church leaders can learn concerning leadership from Ezra-Nehemiah is that a leader needs to be educated. Church leadership positions are often filled with people with little to no theological education. The majority of contem-

³⁰ E. Nihinlola, "Poverty and the Theology of Human Development in Africa," *Ogbomoso Journal of Theology*, vol. 14, 2009, p. 165.

porary church leaders notorious for abusing people through asking them to drink petrol, to eat grass or to drink sewage water, those accused of raping their followers, of misappropriation of fund or for refusing to account for them, have very little or no theological education. Such leaders should learn from Ezra that the divine call should not be a replacement for thorough theological training. Ezra is described as a scribe who was skilled in the Law of Moses (Ezra 7:6). Church leaders therefore need thorough theological education. Like all other professions that require training, Church leaders need to be trained. Even Jesus demonstrated this by training the 12 apostles over the period of his earthly ministry. Although there are also bad church leaders who have undergone theological training, the majority of church leaders associated with scandalous acts do not have sound theological training.

A third lesson on leadership from Ezra-Nehemiah is that religious leaders need to get their hands dirty at work. Nehemiah provides the best example for this trait. He did not end on the prayer mat and planning table. He went out into the field to work on the project sometimes by night by himself (Neh. 2:13). He did not pray that God must miraculously rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. He mobilized the Israelites and was with them at work (Neh. 3). African underdevelopment can also be attributed to the miracle mania that has caught up with many, especially in the Pentecostal and Charismatic movements. Miracle money, miracle babies, miracle marriages and so on are detrimental to proper planning and the execution of personal and organizational projects. Indeed, the social media blurb is warning parents, "Educate your children or they will spend their whole lives in church shouting, 'I receive.'" Leaders who follow in the footsteps of Ezra-Nehemiah should teach the followers to pray hard, plan hard and work harder!

A fourth lesson is that people are at the centre of developmental projects. As many biblical scholars have shown, the rebuilding of the Temple under the leadership of Zerubbabel, the reconstruction of the walls of Jerusalem under the leadership of Nehemiah were all meant for the rebuilding of the Israelite community as seen in the ministry of Ezra.³¹ Thus the

³¹ For example, John Drane, *Introducing the Old Testament*, San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1987, p. 182.

physical rebuilding of the Temple and the walls had the ultimate objective of spiritually rebuilding the people.

Leadership Lessons for Political Leaders

Although the lessons we discussed above are more specific to church leaders, they are also important lessons for political leaders just as those we discuss in this section are more specific to political leaders but are also important to church leaders.

The first important leadership lesson that political leaders in Africa can learn from Ezra-Nehemiah is that of delegation. Although he is described as a "priest who has mastered the Book of the Law of the God of Heaven [the Torah]" (Ezra 7:12), given authority by the king to "execute, uproot, fine, or torture" anyone who does not fulfill the law of God (Ezra 7:26), Ezra appoints 12 other priests to take care of the Temple's treasures (Ezra 8:24-30), even though he was a priest himself. He never took credit for what he had done and always tried to include others. At the public reading of the Torah, Ezra included numerous people whose names are mentioned in Neh 8:4. Delegation of duty empowers many to take leadership positions and share responsibilities. In the books of Ezra-Nehemiah we even see delegation of leadership responsibilities to young people. Ezra 3:8 mentions Zerubbabel's appointment of youths from 20 years old to positions of responsibility in the rebuilding of the Temple. When youthful energy is fused with the experience that comes with age, there is bound to be sustainable development. Some of the major problems of Africa are gerontocracy and leadership vacuum that is created by leaders who die in their positions without having groomed leaders to take after them. Appointing capable youths into positions of responsibility would not only deal with the problem of unemployment but also enables leadership grooming.

Self-sacrifice for the good of the people is a second good leadership lesson that political leaders in Africa can learn from Ezra-Nehemiah. Nehemiah, for example, mentions that for the 12 years that he initially served as a governor, he and his associates did not eat the food allowance that was due to him as the governor (Neh 5:14). This is the exact opposite of many African leaders, who do not only 'eat' their allowance but proceed

to 'eat' even that not allocated to them. Cases of African leaders who use state resources for personal enrichment are too numerous to mention. Ezra and Nehemiah did not use their positions to enrich themselves. They saw themselves as individuals who had an important job which included rebuilding the walls of Jerusalem but more importantly to build a country on a foundation of social justice. They therefore wisely used resources for the common good of the community as opposed to the corrupt use of resources to benefit only a few that are in leadership or the politically connected as is common with many African leaders. Political leaders who do not understand the importance of social justice ensure that their countries will not have much of a future.

The books of Ezra and Nehemiah also teach that emerging leaders should not blindly follow the policies and leadership styles of their predecessors. Except for a few cases, African leaders seem to read the same wrong 'hymn' book from one generation to the other. Nehemiah offers a very good leadership lesson on this when he says, "But the former governors who were before me laid burdens on the people, and took from them the bread and wine, besides forty shekels of silver. Yes, even their servants bore rule over the people, but I did not do so, because of the fear of God" (Neh 5:14 KJV). Most African leaders would rather continue the corrupt legacy of their predecessors but Nehemiah's example teaches against this.

The other lesson that Africa could possibly learn from Ezra-Nehemiah is that of resilience and fortitude. While Israel was rising from the ashes and pains of Babylonian slavery and oppression, through good leadership, they managed to forge ahead and successfully executed their national projects without crying foul and blaming their past for their socio-economic predicament. Notwithstanding the damage caused by colonialism in most African states, Africa needs, through good leadership, to stop blaming everything on the negative colonial legacy. She needs good leadership to harness available resources for the benefit of the entire populace as opposed to a privileged few. The same leadership spirit of rebuilding what was destroyed is echoed in Nehemiah's words when he says

"Then I said to them, 'You see the distress that we are in, how Jerusalem lies waste, and its gates are burned with fire. Come let us build the wall of Jerusalem, that we may no longer be a reproach'" (Neh 2:17 KJV).

The Book of Ezra spells out very strongly the issue of moral purity. Ezra showed good leadership by categorically rebuking the leaders for their immorality and convinced them to change for the good. This kind of boldness and frankness is needed to foster an African community that is morally upright and upholds good African norms, values and traditions that inculcate good and responsible behaviour. This kind of leadership is needed both in the church and in the political leadership.

Lastly, the books of Ezra-Nehemiah teach a great lesson of compassion and care for fellow Israelites. They vehemently discourage the oppression of one citizen by the other. This is a leadership lesson to be learnt by Africa, especially in the wake of xenophobic attacks in some African states, where Africans oppress, torture or even kill fellow Africans.

Conclusion

This chapter has pointed out facts on underdevelopment in Africa suggesting possible causes for this underdevelopment. Although we pointed out a number of possible causes as discussed by different scholars, it is our opinion that poor leadership plays a key role. With this in mind, the chapter proceeded to consider lessons for good leadership that can be derived from the books of Ezra-Nehemiah. Guided by the developing theory of ethical leadership for organizational development, the chapter has proposed good leadership as an important ingredient in the African developmental process. It has been observed, even by economists, that organizations with spiritual (ethical) based leadership tend to do better than those without. Writing in the context of the United States of America, Robert Fogela, 1993 Nobel laureate in Economics, stresses the importance of spirituality in the new economy.³² Africa needs such ethical leadership if it is to deal with the underdevelopment that she is experiencing.

³² Robert W. Fogel, *The Fourth Great Awakening*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Chapter 23: Africa for Africans and Zimbabwe for Zimbabweans! A Critical Interrogation of the Concept of Development in Zimbabwe

Munetsi Ruzivo

Introduction

This chapter interrogates the concept of development as enunciated by churches in Zimbabwe. It tackles the issue of development from both historical and theological perspectives. The argument of the chapter is that Africa belongs to the Africans and not to outsiders. Likewise, Zimbabwe is for the Zimbabweans. In as much as the destiny of any country lies in the hands of its citizens, the destiny of Zimbabwe lies in the hands of the Zimbabweans. In the same mode of thinking, sustainable development should be driven by the autochthones of the land. It should be cosmologically and culturally induced. It should be driven by the people and it should be owned by the people. A meaningful and sustainable development is one that emanates from the people's dreams and imaginations expressed in their own language, music, poems and artistic forms. Any development driven by languages that are foreign remains foreign to the people for whom that development is meant. There is no country that has developed using another country's language. Koreans, British, Americans, Italians, Spanish, Japanese and Chinese use their languages as vital asserts for development. What is required is a new approach to the whole paradigm of development. A paradigm which uplifts millions of Africans that have been trapped by human-made poverty. Instead of talking about development, the churches should talk about the liberating and empowering millions of Africans who are malnourished, diseased, hungry and dying before their time. The task of theology should be to liberate and empower the oppressed and to free those bound by chains of poverty. A theology of empowerment should be worked out. Development should decimate the causes of a structural dependence on others in the economic, political social and cultural spheres of life. The chapter will first begin by interrogating the definition of development and how it has been

appropriated by churches over time. Secondly, the chapter makes a critical investigation of how the churches and funding agencies impoverished the African societies in the name of development. Thirdly, the chapter pleads for the concept of liberation from all forces that bind Africans perpetually to poverty.

Development

The idea of development has been closely linked to the rise of renaissance which a rebirth of classical literature was. Trade and commerce as well as the silk road brought a cross pollination of ideas. Remember people like Marco Polo 1254-1324 journeyed to Cathay and went as far as Mongolia. The fall of the Byzantine Empire brought to the Western world troves of vital manuscripts that were translated and the knowledge contained therein applied to society. The technological breakthrough through the invention of paper, an ancient near east idea, and the adoption of the Chinese idea of printing texts in movable type witnessed a great leap forward in sciences and humanities.¹ In this period, there was the rise of the intelligentsia in Italian cities such as Florence who embraced new learning made possible by the study of manuscripts from the East. The Enlightenment deepened the scope of these changes such that those who did not embrace the age of reason were regarded as traditional. Robert Potter et al. aptly put it:

In broad terms, Enlightenment thinking stressed the belief that science and rational thinking could progress human groups from barbarism to civilization. It was the period during which it came to be increasingly believed that by applying rational, scientific thought to the world, change would become more ordered, more predictable and more valuable.²

The idea of development is closely linked with the quest for liberation from the tyranny of the mighty Catholic Church. The idea of develop-

¹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Groundwork of Christian History*, London: SCM Press, 1987, p. 156.

² Robert Potter et al (eds), *Geographies of Development: An Introduction to Development Studies*, London: Pearson, 2008, p. 7.

ment or progress is synonymous with human freedom for the fetters and clutches of the Church. The Church and the feudal society were enemies of human progress or development. Religion without reason was conceived to be inimical to societal progress. We can see here that renaissance fueled the Reformation by presenting clericalism as an obstacle to learning and truth.³ After the Reformation period Europe had been ravaged by a devastating Thirty Years' War that was accompanied by endemic cycles of famine, risky life and early death.⁴ The monarchs and the men of learning patronized by rich moguls and kings saw the institution of the church as a constant irritant to the stability of the Empire. The Enlightenment challenged the domination of society by the Church. It was the climax of the rise of none religious scholars dominating imperial affairs. Thomas Bokenkotter thus observes this change when he states:

By the middle of the seventeenth century it was evident that the vigour of the Catholic Reformation was spent. Protestantism and Catholics had settled for an uneasy truce. The most vital impulse in European thought would no longer originate from within the Christian Churches. Europe was ready to follow a different course. A host of European minds, some of them quite alienated from the Church were busy sketching a new world view that would come to dominate Western civilization and orient Western man in entirely new directions. The thinkers who participated in this movement, known as the Enlightenment, covered the whole field of knowledge that was henceforth considered a preserve of the exclusive province of the Church and offered a different view of the cosmos, the nature of man, of society, of history, of morals and of religion. The world picture they created meant a loosening of state and society from ecclesiastical controls and gave rise to a largely secular culture. Their principles were no longer drawn from the Bible or Church

³ Paul Johnson, *A History of Christianity*, New York: Touchstone, 1976, p. 358.

⁴ Marcus Power, "Enlightenment and the Era of Modernity" in Robert Potter and Vendana Desai (eds), *Companion to Development Studies*, 3rd edition, New York: Routledge, 2014, p. 154.

authority but were arrived at independently by reason and social experience.⁵

The Enlightenment was characterized as the age of reason in which everything was subjected to the light of reason. There is no monolithic spirit of the age that can be discerned. The ideas of the Enlightenment cannot be clearly delineated, abstracted and given as a list of basic definitions. The salient features of the Enlightenment were the primacy of reason/rationality as ways of organizing knowledge assisted by experience and experiment, empirical evidence, sciences based on experiments as the only way to expanding human knowledge, reason and science could be universally applied to any domain, the idea that science and reason could extirpate myth and advance for freedom of the individual and society, the championing of secularization and secularism, and the fraternity of mankind. The idea of development became associated with Western values such as culture, science and religion. Europe regarded itself as different from others. Thus, beginning the process of "othering." Areas study disciplines emerged, and these supported the theories of European progress.

The theory of evolution boosted the European perception of societal progress. The theory of evolution by Charles Darwin influenced a vast array of disciplines. Evolution became synonymous with human progress and development. The theory of evolution influenced mankind's perception of society. It meant that just like life evolving from simple forms to more complex forms society was also evolving. This idea was to be taken up by Karl Marx. The Hegelian dialectics or survival and struggle in nature is present in the works of Both Charles Darwin and Karl Marx. The Darwinian Marxist evolutionary approach influenced the understanding of Development as structural change for the better or worse.

Development has been closely associated with the objective of the wellbeing of the citizens. The idea of wellbeing comes from the satisfaction that comes from the material resources at one's disposal. According to this view industrialized countries have the highest levels of wellbeing. Industrialization of underdeveloped countries would lead to the

⁵ Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, New York: Image Books, 1979, p. 267.

wellbeing of their people. The Bandung Conference of 1955 played a key role in the evolution of the idea of development. The conference highlighted the issue of underdevelopment and its unacceptability.⁶

As can be seen, the concept of development has no clear-cut definition. Generally, development is synonymous with economic growth. The degree of development of a country is measured by the Gross National Product (GNP) per capita. GNP is measured by the total domestic and foreign value added of a nation divided by its total population.⁷ What this means is that the development of a country is measured in comparison to that of a developing one. Development here would consist in the well-being of a nation. The Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is the cumulative sum of money produced by a country within its borders. Both the GNP and the GDP are fallacies that have soiled development statistics. The vast differences that exist among people are not taken into consideration by those who champion these measuring yardsticks of development. As long as the differences that exist among people are not taken into consideration then this model is an antidevelopment model.⁸

Development has been understood as purely economic and has been taken to be an equivalent word for economic growth.⁹ A more related view defines development as a total social progress encompassing the political, economic and cultural. The problem with this view is that the external and internal factors e.g. distribution of goods and services and the relationships of economic agents of the economy may lead to an economy of the oligarchs thereby relegating the rest of mankind to the periphery. The idea of a total social process needs to be complemented by integrating ethical concerns so that development has a human face.

⁶ Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, New York: Orbis Books, 1971, p. 15.

⁷ Robert Potter et al (eds), *Geographies of Development: An Introduction to Development Studies*, London: Pearson, 2008, p. 9.

⁸ Xavier Albo, "Dialogue between Living Well and Development," in *World Latin American Agenda: The Other Economy*, 2013, p. 38.

⁹ Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, New York: Orbis Books, 1971, p. 15.

The term “development” has been defined by Joseph A. Schumpeter as a system that breaks a capitalist circular flow. This is a system that repeats itself from one period to the next and does not suffer appreciable structural change. Anything that breaks this balance by introducing a new force was seen by Schumpeter as innovation. Innovators might have managed to contradict prevailing systems which means that they are politico-social. Development need to be understood in the dialectal terms. Schumpeter called this process *Entwicklung* which has been translated to day as development. Development happens only when there is both mental and social changes of a society make them increase their earnings and that this remains constant.¹⁰ All theories of development offered by capitalism have not pulled the third world or the so-called developing world from their quagmire. Leonardo Boff observes that development as currently understood has capitalist, industrialist and consumerist in orientation. It is anthropocentric (that is, man centred, but mostly in favour of the West.)¹¹ Failure has been due to theories prescribed that are exotic and that they have been promoted by international organizations such as the Bretton Woods Institutions set up in July 1944 towards the end of the Second World War. These institutions are closely linked to certain groups and governments who control the global economy. These institutions prescribe programmes that are purported to revamp economies, yet they live the economy worse off by the time they wind down. A good example is the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) prescribed for Zimbabwe in the 1990s to achieve sustainable economic growth.¹² This programme did not come from the people of Zimbabwe, but from the politicians. The results were disastrous. The withdrawal of government subsidy in health and education institutions led medicine shortages and the dropping of children out of school. ESAP led to the deterioration in the living conditions of low-income groups as there were

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 14.

¹¹ Leonardo Boff, "Sustainable Development: A Critique of the Standard Model," <https://leonardoboff.wordpress.com/2012/02/06/sustainable-development-a-critique-of-the-standard-model>, [2.10.2017].

¹² Zvashe Kujinga and Kudzai Makoni, "Poverty in the ESAP Era 1996-1998: Poverty Studies in Zimbabwe's Mining, Commercial Farming, and Communal Areas," 2000, p. XII.

massive retrenchments. The withdrawal of government subsidy on basic commodities led to the rise of prices of those goods in shops and to children dropping out of school because of the failure by poor parents to pay for fees for their children because of the removal of government subsidies. ESAP basically meant the liberalization of the economy and letting the market forces determine the pace.¹³ David Coltart criticized the ESAP programme and called it a concoction of the IMF and the World. On the political level, ESAP marked a shift from Socialism to Capitalism.¹⁴ Who did ESAP benefit? It benefitted the countries that are stake holders of the Bretton Woods institutions. The citizens achieved nothing, but more and more poverty. Instead the powers of the dominating strong economic groups with global ties kept strangling the Zimbabwean economy.¹⁵ The whole mood of ESAP is well summarized by Peter Balleis:

We feel very concerned about the fact that basic human conditions for the life of the people-income, nutrition, health education, freedoms are going to be sacrificed for the sake of ESAP. We even dare speak of human sacrifices for the sake of implementing ESAP. The most glaring case of human sacrifice for the capitalist economies is the repayment of the foreign debt. Debt repayment demands often cuts in social expenditure and that means that the health and growth, the education and life of millions of children will be again sacrificed on the altar of the payment of debt and of its economic adjustment programmes. The Bible rejects any form of human sacrifices for the idols and even God himself. The essential message of Abraham sacrificing his son, Isaac, (Gen 22) is one of condemnation of child sacrifices practiced by other ancient religions.

¹³ African Development Bank, "Zimbabwe Economic Structural Adjustment Programme: Project Performance Evaluation Report (PPER)," 9 December 1997, p. 5, www.afdb.org, [2.10.2017].

¹⁴ David Coltart, *An Introduction to ESAP*, 1992, www.davidcoltart.com [2.10.2017].

¹⁵ Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, Maryknoll: Orbis, 1973, p. 17.

The prophet Ezekiel strongly condemned human sacrifices (Ezekiel 20:31).¹⁶

Any development dependent on foreigners will not benefit Africans. There are countries where western systems of running the economy have been said to be a success. I do not see it that way. All that I see is the running of the economy by a few petit bourgeoisies and to the detriment of the masses of people languishing in grinding poverty. Africans should be aware that their poverty is enriching other countries as they continue to borrow and remain perpetually chained to external debt. The next *chimurenga* (struggle) should be for African countries to unchain themselves from the borrowing syndrome. African economies should well integrated and have a common currency, their own internet not linked to the west. They should process their own minerals, their own oil and sell it processed.

From Development to Liberation

Any meaningful development should attack the root causes of economic, social, political and cultural dependence of African countries. Allowing this result in the domination of one class of people by another. What Africa requires is a radical shift from the usual way of doing things, namely, dependency. The issue of private properties - sacrosanct area of countries whose economies are modelled on the West requires change. On the political level, the exploited and manipulated classes require access not only to corridors of power but power itself. Finally, a revolution is required that would break this mortgaging the country from diabolic and satanic institutions. Any meaningful development should cease worshipping idols of silver made by human hands. These are money, power and the ideology of capitalism. Zimbabwe has gone half way in the process through its land distribution programme. The Christian Decalogue demands the worship of one true God, not institutions that lord unto others. The idolatry of money follows the logic of death observed by Peter

¹⁶ Peter Balleis, *ESAP and Theology: Reflections on the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme in the Light of the Bible and the Social Teaching of the Catholic Church*, Chishawasha: Silveira House Social Series, 1992, p. 57.

Balleis.¹⁷ This will then lead to the process of liberation of the African economy from the fetters of the Breton Woods Institutions. Instead of development we must speak of liberation of the African economy from the hands of the bourgeoisie. The liberation of the African economy should be seen by the Churches as a new project and paradigm aimed at building God's kingdom. This will become safeguard against all forms of imperialism and neo-colonialism. The liberation of the economy is the way forward. Africa in the name of development has become the theatre of Western experiments of the most bizarre kind. Every new drug is tested in Africa; any new theory is tested in Africa. New forms of relations between men and women are experimented in Africa. Africa is forced to throw the treasure of her long-cherished history in favour of novels.

The way forward is to be engaged in the dialectics of change which entail confrontation with the existing status quo. As human beings, we can only make ourselves better humans through this dialectical process. We must continuously question ideas and interpret them in the light of the situations that we face every day.¹⁸ It is by negating some ideas that any society progresses forward and arrives at a breakthrough. What is it that Zimbabweans must do to be owners of their own economy and to develop a more human and socialized economy? Human nature has the capacity to transform and we can transform our societies to more human societies where no man will exploit another man, as Marx observed. Knowledge is liberation. We need to know who is exploiting us and how is it done.

Liberation is never given on a silver platter. Human history is a history for the quest for liberation from all forces that inhibit the spirit of freedom. Without economic freedom, there is no liberation. Liberation should be totalizing. The first step towards liberation is to use African languages first and foremost in education sectors. I do not know of any country in the world that has developed using another country's language. This is the first struggle that Zimbabwe and fellow African countries must fight. The Japanese dropped English in favour of their

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Leonardo and Clodovis Boff, *Introducing Liberation Theology*, New York: Orbis Books, 1988, p. 6.

Japanese language. So, did the Chinese and the Koreans. No European country uses another's language. Their languages are reservoir of traditional knowledge. Africa must wake up on this one. Instead of assisting Africans to liberate themselves from linguistic colonialism, the Church was a partner of the state in teaching western culture and its values thereby undermining African knowledge systems embedded in African languages. If the Church is to remain relevant on the African continent it must negate this practice.

The second step is for African governments and churches to empower their citizens by carrying out land reform programmes. Millions of poor people must cultivate their own crops, keep their own animals and feed themselves. This struggle can only be achieved by reforming the colonial clause in most African constitutions that make farms a sacrosanct property for the few privileged. Africans must grow their own food than rely on farming by foreigners. African land belongs to Africans in much the same that British land, French Land, German land belongs to the respective nationals. As far as I know there are no Africans with expansive farms in Europe or America. The church cannot talk of development when there is a scandal of millions of landless people who are going hungry and who have nowhere decent to sleep. It is a very big scandal for anyone to talk about development when three quarters of the population is unemployed in any given African country. Millions of people across Africa have no access to safe drinking water, medical care and life expectancy below 60 years (Boff & Boff 1988:4-5).¹⁹ Land is everything we are born on the land, we grow on land, from it we have water, minerals, animals and in it we are buried. We are part of it. Without land, we are not fully humanized. Human beings are their own liberators and must take the revolution for economic emancipation forward.

Third, a moratorium must be put on para-church agencies that do not work to the full liberation of the people in economic spheres. There is of course the idea that Non-governmental organizations develop rural societies. Church development agencies have been in the forefront. These organizations, including church organizations, leave African

¹⁹ Ibid, p. 4-5.

communities worse off than they were. The help that is rendered seeks to alleviate the situation the poor but always within the existing social relations and the basic structuring of society.²⁰ Despite technological advances in Africa many people remain trapped in the shackles of poverty. This approach excludes participation by those who are victims of underdevelopment. They put people in a circle of despair and inhibit them from finding solutions to their own problems by waiting for help whenever they face problems. Assistance should be in making the people realize why they remain in a position of dependence. Does dependence bring any development to any community? Areas that church agencies have worked have always remained poor which means they have not tackled the root cause of the underdevelopment. The root cause is structural sin. Vatican II Council²¹ talks about the existence of inequalities and undue dependence on colonial masters.

Conclusion

Only when Africa has achieved economic emancipation can we talk of the full liberation of the continent. Without economic emancipation, there is no development to talk about. If churches remain partners of multinational forces that seek to milk African resources, then the dream of Kwame Nkrumah of a United Africa remains a mirage. The Church in Africa should incarnate, not otherwise. It must champion for a society in which Zimbabweans are makers of their own history. It is men and women who are artisans of a new humanity.²² Africans deserve to live a full human life and not to die before their time because of underdevelopment. If it is to remain relevant, the Church has no choice but to take the side of the underdeveloped, not in pretense but in reality. It should opt for the poor so that they break from the shackles of poverty than chain them. I sum up with the words of Gutierrez:

²⁰ Ibid, p. 4.

²¹ "Pastoral Constitution of the Church in the World," no. 9 and no. 85,' in Norman Tanner (ed), *Decrees of Ecumenical Councils*, Volume II (Trent-Vatican II), London: Sheed & Ward, 1990, pp. 1073 and 1130.

²² Gustavo Gutierrez, *A Theology of Liberation: History, Politics and Salvation*, New York: Orbis Books, 1973, p. 23.

In as much as Development is a product of man, under-development is also a product of the system in which we live. Other human beings are responsible for this structural sin. Unless the structures of sin are demolished millions and millions of Africans will die before their time because poverty means death, unjust and early death.²³

Africans and indeed Zimbabweans do not have to live the life of the victim in the parable of the Good Samaritan. Africa indeed has been too dependent on others who have often violated her by raping and stripping her naked by continuously exploiting her resources at an alarming rate. Any meaningful development that does not listen to the cries and misery of those trapped by manmade poverty is complicity to the logic of death enshrined in development theories that have no human face but are driven by market forces. ATISCA must build a theology from the point of view of those who have been violated and then stripped naked.

²³ Gustavo Gutierrez, *The Power of the Poor in History*, New York: Orbis Books, 1983, p. 77.

Chapter 24: Faith-Based Organizations and their Role in HIV and AIDS Care and Treatment in Zimbabwe

Tabona Shoko

Introduction

According to a study released by World Health Organization¹ FBOs play a greater role in HIV and AIDS care and treatment in sub-Saharan Africa than previously recognized. In Zimbabwe FBOs such as Catholic Mashambanzou and Lutheran Betseranai are in the fore front to service provision for PLHIV. The churches are not the only players in HIV and AIDS intervention, Shona traditional religion has also been involved in the quest for treatment of persons with ‘abnormal’ and persistent health problems such as HIV and AIDS. Health is a primary concern for the Shona traditional religion. But in this endeavour FBOs have suffered challenges in executing meaningful intervention to address the problem of HIV and AIDS. Some of the challenges include discrimination, confidentiality, sex and health education, condoms and needles, HIV testing and inadequate research.² However these challenges are not insurmountable. More needs to be done, and more efforts are needed to encourage greater collaboration between public health agencies and faith-based organizations (FBOs), if progress is to be made towards the goal of universal access towards HIV prevention, treatment, care and support by 2030.

From its earliest time missionary work in Zimbabwe focused on evangelism, education and medical work.³ Historians such as Zvobgo provide a detailed history of American Board of Mission which later became

¹ World Health Organization, 2007.

² T. Shoko, “HIV/AIDS and Christian Ethics in Zimbabwe,” in J.N. Amanze (ed), *Christian Ethics and HIV and AIDS in Africa*, Gaborone: Bay Publishers, 2007, p. 203.

³ C.J. Zvobgo, *A History of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe, 1890-1939*, Gweru: Mambo, 1996.

United Church of Christ in Zimbabwe (UCCZ) who established mission stations at Mt. Selinda and Chikore in 1893 and 1895 respectively.⁴ And Bhebe and Ranger observed similar trend of three pronged missionary evangelization techniques of formal education, preaching of the gospel and medical mission.⁵ But the field was too large for them such that they had to make use of evangelists who had extra advantage of knowledge of language and cultural issues. At health institutions, church services by local communities were mandatory for provision of treatment. But the church health facilities had little impact on the population they served which prompted the World Council of Churches (WCC) to establish the Christian medical Commission (CMC).⁶

HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe has a total 16 million people as per 2016 demographic survey. According to UNAIDS, 1.4 million people are living with HIV. That puts the country as the fifth largest HIV prevalence rate in sub-Saharan Africa with 14.7%. There are 64,000 new infections which dropped from 79,000 in 2010 due to behaviour change communication, high treatment coverage and prevention of mother to child transmission which caused the decline. Death from AIDS related illnesses reduced from 61,000 in 2013 to 31 000 in 2015. AIDS related deaths are 29 000 and 61% adults are on anti-retroviral treatment. The number of children orphaned due to AIDS fell from 810,000 to 524,000 over the same period.⁷

The origin of HIV and AIDS is unknown, having been first detected in United States of America in 1981. Initially, it was associated with gay men, homosexuals and dubbed, "AIDS the gay plague."⁸ Then it was linked with intravenous drug users thereby reinforcing negative attitudes. HIV and ADS was detected in Africa in 1982 among heterosexuals. The

⁴ C.J. Zvobgo, *A History of Christian Missions in Zimbabwe, 1890-1939*, Gweru: Mambo, 1996, p. 6.

⁵ Bhebe and Ranger, 1996, p. 10.

⁶ Paul Clifford, *Theology and the HIV Era*, London: SPCK, 2004.

⁷ UNAIDS Gap Report, 2018, p. 2.

⁸ *Daily Mirror*, "Alert over 'Gay-Plague,'" 2.5.1983.

disease was believed to be transmitted by sexual contact, regardless of gender, and by blood through needle sharing or blood transfusion. Prostitution became closely linked with people living with HIV and AIDS and further reinforced negative attitudes. In 1984 the virus causing immunodeficiency was identified. But now HIV and AIDS have affected all humankind, adults and children throughout the world. HIV and AIDS has become a pandemic.

In Zimbabwe the first cases of HIV and AIDS broke out in the early 1980s. And there have been many theories about the origins of the disease. Some people think that HIV and AIDS is God's tool for punishment of humanity that has fallen from heaven. Some scientists believe it was "manufactured" by accident and others think it was a deliberate invention of a biological weapon by whites in the USA meant to eradicate negroes, junkies and perverts.⁹

The Church's Response

First, the church's response followed the footprints of Zimbabwe government policy and attitude. The government's reaction was slow and initially marked by denial of the seriousness of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. HIV was largely seen as foreign disease that sought to impinge upon the country's newly won independence in 1980. But the country woke up to the reality of the disease in 1986 when the first person diagnosed of HIV came out public. In 2000, the country embarked national response initiatives to the pandemic through the establishment of National AIDS Council (NAC), a body which coordinates the multi sectoral response to HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe. The Council facilitated setting up a national resource mobilization facility AIDS levy that deducts 3% of an individual's income to support HIV treatment and supplement international funding from Global Fund, UNAIDS, Centre for Disease Control, PEPFAR, etc. The National AIDS Council further responded to the pandemic through set targets Zimbabwe National AIDS Strategic

⁹ T.B. Mukweva, HIV and AIDS: A Study of the Role that is Being Played by Traditional Religious People in the Fight against the Disease, BA, University of Zimbabwe, Harare, 1997, p. 8.

Plan.¹⁰ They have also scaled up the country's AIDS education and awareness campaigns. This has contributed significantly to the reduction of HIV prevalence in the country.

The church has taken far too long to respond to the challenge posed by HIV and AIDS. According to Chitando, different churches responded in a more or less similar manner to the pandemic.¹¹ Initially they tended to fuel stigma and discrimination as well as keeping silent.¹² To be infected with HIV was seen as a result of being a prostitute and a sinner. And to be infected with HIV became synonymous with punishment from God for sexual immorality. There was a tendency to pass moral judgment on the infected. People living with HIV and AIDS (PLWHIV) were regarded as individuals who did not live up to the high moral standards set by the church.¹³ This was the stage that the church kept silent in as far as responding to HIV and AIDS was concerned and pursued non action. Apparently no connections were made between HIV and AIDS infection and other factors such as social, cultural, economic, and political and gender issues in society. This portrayed the character of the church as an institution filled with fear, stigma and discrimination. And quite glaring the church's challenge was failure to develop a theology of healing that would respond to the challenges of HIV and AIDS pandemic.

In the 1990s, the church started to react differently by 'breaking the silence' and responding positively to HIV and AIDS pandemic. In a gradual theological paradigm shift, the church introspected and felt some injustices in condemning the people living with HIV and AIDS as 'lepers' and 'sinners', or in associating HIV and AIDS with homosexuality,

¹⁰ Zimbabwe National AIDS Strategic Plan (ZNASP 1, 2006-2010), pp. 1-38.

¹¹ Ezra Chitando, *Living with Hope: African Churches and HIV and AIDS*, vol. 1, Geneva: WCC, 2007.

¹² Ibid, p. 19; E. Dube, "'The Fickle and the Constant?' Reflections on Catholic Pastoral Documents as Defining State-Church Relations from 1959 to 2014," in *Journal of International Academic Research for Multidisciplinary (JIARM)*, 3(3), 2016, pp. 145-167.

¹³ Ezra Chitando, *Living with Hope: African Churches and HIV and AIDS*, vol. 1, Geneva: WCC, 2007, p. 19.

sexual immorality, drug addiction, sin, God's judgment and punishment.¹⁴ The churches became equipped by acquiring knowledge about the pandemic. And this prompted change of attitude and mentality towards people infected with the virus. They realized their role as that of provision of care, comfort, solace and hope to all people living with HIV and AIDS. And in contemporary times, the churches have begun to be more pragmatic in their response to the pandemic. The main line churches have been quite active in promoting Western medical approaches to address HIV and AIDS pandemic. They are several support systems and institutions that have been established for people living with HIV and AIDS such as Home Based Care, orphanages, old people's homes. Some typical examples are Catholic Mashambanzou Care Trust in Harare, Lutheran Betseranai in Mberengwa. These facilities contribute immensely towards to prevention, treatment and care for people living with HIV and AIDS, and thus support the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) agenda.

Church's Contribution

Catholic Church

Amongst the mainline churches, the Catholic Church was one of the earliest to respond to HIV and AIDS pandemic. The church introduced community-based programmes in the country to address the pandemic. As a result, several AIDS Care Centres were set up in different dioceses in Zimbabwe. One such centre is Mashambanzou located 10km outside Harare in the Waterfalls suburb. And Silveira House, founded by the Jesuits of the Capricorn Society led by Sir David Sterling, has been focusing its energy and resources on poverty alleviation through Civics Education and Practical Skills Training from 1998. There is evidence to show that

¹⁴ F. Mangena and E. Chitando, "Millennium Development Goals in Zimbabwe's 'Decade of Crisis,'" *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 13(5), 2011, p. 142.

this is one of the effective ways facing the daunting struggle against poverty and the pandemic such as HIV and AIDS.¹⁵

Mashambanzou Care Trust was the brain child of the vision of Sister Nollen Nolan of the Little Company of Mary who established the centre in Harare in 1989. Sister Nollen based her vision in line with Biblical teachings like Mark 12: 31; Matthew 19:21; Isaiah 58:10. She was touched by the plight of stigma, rejection and discrimination against people living with HIV and AIDS. Her aim was to offer comfort and reassurance for people with AIDS and their family members, and to enhance their quality of lives so that they would die a descent death with love and dignity.¹⁶ From there she inaugurated a programme for AIDS education and awareness and to date the centre offers holistic care through six interlinked community programmes. There are Voluntary Counseling and Treatment services. Apart from these it offers HIV prevention, Care and Support services for people living with HIV and AIDS and orphans. The Trust offers comprehensive healing in mental, physical, emotional, spiritual and structural aspects. This is testified to by numerous testimonies of people infected by HIV but who had lost hope but now recovered at the institute. In fact, Mashambanzou is a Shona word which means early hours of dawn when the elephants take their morning bath. Symbolically the term means, “new beginning”¹⁷ and thus the place was to change the HIV and AIDS landscape through hope and support for people living with HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe.

Another important Catholic centre that provides services for people affected by HIV and AIDS is Mavambo Learning Centre. Mrs Pat Brailley was instrumental in setting up the centre. This is an interdenominational non-profit making organization providing for children affected by HIV and AIDS, a literacy and numeric programme within a healing

¹⁵ T. Shoko, “HIV/AIDS and Christian Ethics in Zimbabwe,” in J.N. Amanze, (ed), *Christian Ethics and HIV and AIDS in Africa*, Gaborone: Bay Publishers, 2007, p. 203.

¹⁶ www.oocities.org/mashambanzoucaretrust [17.7.2017].

¹⁷ Ibid.

environment.¹⁸ Brailley had observed from Mashambanzou that many orphans were “falling through the cracks,” particularly in the field of education. With the plight of children at heart, she undertook to set up a location in Mabvuku 25km outside of Harare under St Fidelis Church that would cater for children’s learning needs.¹⁹ *Chitarisiro*-the Shona word for hope is what she wished to make possible and bring to the future of Zimbabwe. *Mavambo*, the name of the Learning Centre, is the Shona word for Genesis.²⁰ Under the Directorship of Benjamin Posvo, the key programmes offered by the centre include Early Child Stimulation; Child Protection; Psychosocial Support (PSS); Education Support; Health and Hygiene and Household Economic Strengthening.²¹ Mavambo prepares children for successful placement and integration into the formal school system in Harare and provides continuing HIV and AIDS education as well as academic, emotional and even financial support.

Faith and Light Ministries is an international organization that caters for special children. Its profile is ecumenical but is mostly run by Catholics. Founded by Jean Vanier and Marie-Helene Mathieu in 1971, the ministry’s purpose is to support those with learning disabilities and their friends and families, by fostering friendship, prayer, celebration and sharing. The ministry established in Zimbabwe in 1982 under the banner Salt and Light. And one of the key commitments is to empower women and girls to improve nutrition. Their motto is “Keep that candle burning and Faith and Light will live to love.”²² The Catholic Church has also established Community AIDS Based Programme (CBAP). The programme continues to share with communities the dangers and effects of HIV and AIDS and how it affects the communities. The programme challenges both farming and rural communities to be aware of their sexual pattern. It also focuses on peer education amongst the young people

¹⁸ T. Shoko, “HIV/AIDS and Christian Ethics in Zimbabwe,” in J.N. Amanze (ed), *Christian Ethics and HIV and AIDS in Africa*, Gaborone: Bay Publishers, 2007, p. 203.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Chitarisiro Newsletter, April 2002.

²¹ <http://mavambotrust.org.zw>, [17.7.2017].

²² *Faith and Light Zimbabwe*, Newsletter no. 24, May 2002.

through education for life programmes run in schools. Communities are urged to own HIV and AIDS initiatives through responsible behaviour change implemented in their homes.²³ Matters pertaining HIV and AIDS care, counseling AIDS patients as well as the discussions on the effects of sexually transmitted infections (STI) are done at community level where more members take part at village level. Workshops are done at individual homes for interested members or headmen's homesteads.²⁴ The Catholic Community Based Aids Programme (CBAP) was established in Murehwa district Zimbabwe as result of request by the local community through the District Nursing Officer (NDO) of the Ministry of Health and Child Welfare. The purpose was to address HIV and AIDS, juvenile delinquency and poverty and to develop talented poor communities. The project targets 5 clinics namely Murehwa Polyclinic, Chitowa II Clinic, Chitate Clinic, Nyamatumbu Clinic and Musami Hospital.²⁵ Peer educators who have gone through training on peer education and counseling are selected during community mobilization meetings. And these comprise volunteers who give free time to talk about HIV and AIDS within their homes and villages around. Peer educators also come once a week to the clinics to share information about HIV and AIDS.²⁶

There are several HIV and AIDS programmes and projects run by the Catholic Church in Zimbabwe. However it is outside the purview of this paper to list all activities in here. Suffice it to say the Catholic Church engagement in the context of HIV and AIDS is indispensable not only in

²³ T. Shoko, "HIV/AIDS and Christian Ethics in Zimbabwe," in J.N. Amanze, (ed), *Christian Ethics and HIV and AIDS in Africa*, Gaborone: Bay Publishers, 2007, p. 203.

²⁴ Silveira House Community Based Aids Programme (CAFORD) Programme, Planning Committee Meeting, 15.4.2002, p. 1.

²⁵ T. Shoko, "HIV/AIDS and Christian Ethics in Zimbabwe," in J.N. Amanze, (ed), *Christian Ethics and HIV and AIDS in Africa*, Gaborone: Bay Publishers, 2007, p. 203.

²⁶ Silveira House Community Based Aids Programme: Unpublished manuscript, nd, p. 1.

terms of the Christian discipleship but also in connection with the Synod of African Bishops (1994) postulate of the church in Africa as a family.²⁷

Lutheran Church

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe (ELCZ), a Protestant church, took roots in South West Zimbabwe then divided into two parts as East and Western Deaneries where it provided medical services, alongside education and evangelism to the people in the areas in which it established.²⁸ From its inception in 1915, the ELCZ established mission stations and hospitals such as Mnene in the East and Manama in the West. At mission stations like Musume, Masase and Chegato the church established Chaplains to address spiritual and medical needs. In 2004 the church celebrated its century anniversary at Mnene in Mberengwa and 500 years anniversary in Windhoek, Namibia in 2017. In pursuit of its expansionist programme, the ELCZ is now divided into three dioceses namely Eastern, Western and Central that continue to provide medical facilities to the people. In this endeavor the ELCZ works along with Island Hospice, Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and the Ministry of Health. The church's efforts are in conformity with missionary initiatives in Zimbabwe at the beginning of the 20th Century, namely, to take upon themselves the responsibility of introducing civilization to the native people through evangelization and provision of education and medicine.

The Lutheran church holds its vision 'to be a spiritually vibrant, self-sustaining and fruitful church that preaches reconciliation of all men to Jesus Christ.' And the mission statement says, "To heal broken relationship with God by teaching and preaching the message of justification through faith in Jesus Christ."²⁹ It is from this background that the ELCZ has meaningfully responded to HIV and AIDS by establishing Betseranai

²⁷ F.H. Chimhanda, "Roman Catholic Church's Response to HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe: A Theological Approach," *Congresso Internacional da Faculdades EST*, São Leopoldo: Anais do Congresso Internacional da Faculdades EST, 1, 2012, p. 823.

²⁸ Hugo Söderström, *God Gave Growth: The History of the Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe, 1903-1980*, Gweru: Mambo, 1984, p. 14.

²⁹ <http://elcz.50webs.com>, [18/07/17].

Faith Based Organization at Musume Mission in 2000. The institution serves communities from Gweru, Shurugwi, Zvishavane, Mberengwa districts in the Midlands Province and Mwenezi in Masvingo Province. A sister institution has since been opened at Manama mission in Matabeleland South Province. Betseranai is run by the church's Medical Board under a medical administrator and a qualified instructor. The institution has an orphanage and provides medical facilities such as drugs, blankets and clothes. The centre is also equipped with motorbikes and bicycles used by volunteers to reach out to people outside in need of medical assistance. Trained health workers are deployed across the district with medical kits to supply medicines and assist relatives to take care of the sick under the home based programme. Some government satellite clinics are used as referral points for afflicted patients.³⁰ Betseranai has contributed a lot in addressing HIV and AIDS by promoting awareness campaigns; mobilizing communities, and stakeholders to support and care for people infected and affected by HIV and AIDS and their families; by empowering people living with HIV and AIDS through self-reliance programmes; by providing conducive working environment for employees; by improving knowledge of HIV and AIDS through developing and expanding information, education, preaching and counseling; communication activities and by promoting issues on gender and HIV and AIDS.³¹

The FBO is also engaged in the following activities: Voluntary Counseling and Testing; Youth and adult peer-education; Advocacy; HIV and AIDS awareness campaigns and Community Mobilization. It has also embarked on HIV and AIDS massive education and Training of Communities. It operates a resource centre of HIV and AIDS information with books, fliers, CDs and Video Cassettes. The centre also has vibrant Support Groups and Home Based Care groups; Orphans and Children, many of whom are school drop outs due to lack of fees, school uniform, shelter and food. For treatment the centre supports opportunistic infections as

³⁰ T. Shoko, "HIV/AIDS and Christian Ethics in Zimbabwe," in J.N. Amanze, (ed), *Christian Ethics and HIV and AIDS in Africa*, Gaborone: Bay Publishers, 2007, p. 203.

³¹ <http://elczlucsa.blogspot.it>, [18.7.2017].

provision of anti-retroviral treatment. It also provides herbal remedies and good nutrition for people living with HIV and AIDS.³²

The churches have, therefore, been dominant in interventions against HIV and AIDS. However, healing is not only a monopoly of the church; there are other players such as traditional religion and medicine that contribute to treatment of HIV and AIDS.

Traditional Religion

The issue of health is one of the primary concerns of the Shona traditional religion. The Shona traditional religion acknowledges that there are some diseases, that the people firmly believe, cannot be treated in hospitals such as HIV and AIDS. But in the Shona traditional religious beliefs and cultural practices there are some factors that facilitate the spread of the disease whilst some practices facilitate healing.

The Shona hold certain traditional beliefs and practices that help spread HIV and AIDS. Illness and disease that originate from the earth (*pasi*), that disappear after a short while and that require simple or no medication at all are regarded as having natural causes. Such illnesses are coughs, colds, slight fever and headaches. But when such illnesses resist treatment or persist, the Shona search for an alternative causal explanation, “why to this particular person and why at this time and place.”³³

Factors that Help Spread HIV and AIDS

The traditional Shona believe that there are some beliefs that help spread HIV and AIDS. Spirits such as *midzimu* (ancestral spirits), *shave* (alien spirits), *ngozi* (spirits of vengeance) and nature like spirits, *tokolotshes*, spooks and ghosts can cause illness, misfortune and death. Witchcraft beliefs also prevail. Such cultural beliefs offer alternate interpretation to

³² Ibid.

³³ M.F.C. Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples: An Anthropology of the Contemporary Shona*, Gweru: Mambo, 1998, p. 173.

scientific understanding of HIV and AIDS.³⁴ And such beliefs deter people from seeking bio-medicine.

In the Shona society, there are several traditional cultural practices that may facilitate the spread of HIV and AIDS. Some of the practices are marital such as (*barika* (polygamy), a practice whereby a man marries more than one wife, *kugaranhaka* (wife inheritance), *sarapavana* (take care of children), a practice that stipulates that when an elder sister or aunt fails to conceive then a young sister is supposed to marry the brother-in-law in order to conceive children on behalf of her sister and *kupindira* (overtake) whereby a brother of a deceased man is expected to sleep with his sister-in-law in order to produce children on behalf of his brother. In these cultural practices, the chances of spreading HIV and AIDS are abundant.³⁵ Other practices likely to help spread HIV and AIDS are healing methods conducted by the *n'anga* (traditional medical practitioners) in administering treatment for the disease such as cutting *nyora* (incisions), biting (*kuruma*) to remove the object. The danger is that the practitioner may end up contracting the disease and further spreads it to other clients.³⁶

Treatments that Control HIV and AIDS

The Shona people heal diseases through a variety of methods that include rituals and treatments administered by the *n'anga*. Since the Shona believe that spirits are primarily responsible for their health and welfare, they are constantly engaged in ritual contact with the spirit world to get rid of illness and disease and other ills of life. They then cultivate health and wellbeing in birth, marriage, death and communal rituals. Besides, treatments are also applied to deal with ailments. These vary according to the level of illness. Serious illness is treated in various ways, which

³⁴ T. Shoko, "Healing in African Traditional Religions: Examining the Implications," in E. Chitando and C. Klagba, *In the Name of Jesus: Healing in the Age of HIV*, EHIA Series, Geneva: WCC, 2013, p. 23.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ T. Shoko, "HIV/AIDS and Christian Ethics in Zimbabwe," in J.N. Amanze (ed), *Christian Ethics and HIV and AIDS in Africa*, Gaborone: Bay Publishers, 2007, p. 62.

include herbal treatment, extraction of disease-causing objects, and exorcism.³⁷

Traditional Medicine and Healing in Modern Times

The attainment of Zimbabwe independence in 1980 saw the government's adoption of a "generous religious policy" which promoted religious liberty in the country. In line with this policy, Zimbabwe's parliament passed the Traditional Medical Practitioners Act in 1981 that saw the reappraisal of traditional medicine in Zimbabwe. As a result, the first Cabinet Minister of Health, Dr Herbert Ushewokunze, himself a medical doctor, approved within the medical fraternity, the introduction of a body of traditional medical practitioners called Zimbabwe National Traditional Healers Association.

This encouragement saw the mushrooming of traditional healing practices in the cities, particularly in Harare. The capital city housed the offices of ZINATHA and that boosted its membership and clientele. The association posted conspicuous adverts on buildings and streets with inscriptions, "ZINATHA Pharmacy Styles Building: Room S6: We Supply Drugs for: HIV related Symptoms; Blood Purification; Sugar Diabetes; *Vuka-Vuka*, Malaria, Herpes, Asthma, STD, *Jeko*, *Kugeza Munyama*, *Kubvisa Mishonga yechiDzimai*; *Mamhepo*; *Mhepo yeMudumbu*, Cancer, Syphilis, *Chomusoro*, BP, Lucky, Albinos Cream, TB etc."³⁸ As a result, numerous state-of-the art traditional healing centres sprouted at Mbare Musika and Machipisa Shopping Centres in Highfields in Harare. Surgeries have been established in other areas, particularly at homes in the high-density suburbs in the city.³⁹

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ T. Shoko and A. Chiwara, "Mukondombera: HIV and AIDS and Shona Traditional Religion in Zimbabwe," in *AASR e-Journal: Journal for the Study of the Religions of Africa and its Diaspora* 1(1), August 2015, p. 13.

³⁹ T. Shoko, "Traditional Healing in Harare: Continuity and Change," in L. Togarasei and E. Chitando, (eds), *Faith in the City: The Role and Place of Religion in Harare*, Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2010, p. 85.

Benjamin Burombo, a Kuwadzana famous healer, featured prominently as a “Harare *n’anga* (who) treats AIDS people.”⁴⁰ The healer claimed he has overwhelming evidence that shows that patients who have been under his care have tested HIV negative at a local health laboratory. At one time he threw out a challenge to Dr Timothy Stamps, then Minister of Health, that he would invite confirmed HIV patients whom he claimed were treated, tested negative and referred to the Ministry for further tests for confirmation.⁴¹ Dr Mashava, a University of Zimbabwe lecturer in Education, manufactured a drug called *gundamiti* (conquers all trees) which he believed cures AIDS. And Dr Duri, a university chemist, operated a herbal surgery in Harare. Both chemists strongly believed their medicines reversed symptoms of HIV and AIDS.

Also in Harare, the controversial ex-military personnel, Richard Ngwenya, has been widely publicized as administering HIV and AIDS therapy at the Immunity Enhancement Centre in the Avenues in town. In the 1990s Harare was also hit by a frenzy of herbs such as *musimboti* (king’s brew), and Chinese *tianse* which many believe offered relief for HIV and AIDS patients. And due to a growing number of people resorting to traditional medicine, a group of herbalists and conservation experts have teamed up to set indigenous herbal gardens that grow local medicinal plants and promotes natural remedies.⁴² Thus, traditional religion and medicine, despite its shortfalls, has made strides towards meaningful intervention addressing the challenges of HIV and AIDS.

FBO Challenges

FBOS face challenges in their efforts to make meaningful intervention on HIV and AIDS particularly in the socio-cultural and moral realm. These factors are discrimination, confidentiality, sex and health education, use of condoms, needles, HIV testing and research. Other challenges that threaten FBO interventions are leadership skills/capacity,

⁴⁰ *Sunday Times*, 15.8.1993.

⁴¹ T. Shoko, “Traditional Healing in Harare: Continuity and Change,” in L. Togarasei and E. Chitando, (eds), *Faith in the City: The Role and Place of Religion in Harare*, Uppsala: Swedish Science Press, 2010, p. 85.

⁴² *Ibid.*

poverty/corruption, failure to embrace technology, lack of collaboration for instance, persistent tension between Christianity and culture. Despite these threats, FBOs stand good chances for meaningful intervention on HIV and AIDS.

FBO Opportunities

Religion has religious leaders who are respected in society; they wield capacity to mobilize. Their institutions have been tried and tested. The ecumenical thrust of churches offer prospects for interfaith relations. Also, FBOs, especially churches, have development arms such as Lutheran World Federation. FBOs ethos are part of the constitutional bill of rights and they are accepted by government which maintains policy of freedom of worship.

Recommendations

Religious communities should play a leading role in ensuring that PLWHIV have access to care and support, prevention, treatment and mitigation. They should use their influence to advocate for needed policies including universal access to treatment. Some can provide medical services; they can also lead in the provision of care for orphans, vulnerable children, and widows. Churches can also develop theological training institutions where they can integrate HIV and AIDS into their programmes and graduates can acquire the necessary skills to approach the epidemic in a sensitive way. Churches should also take a leading role in providing home-based care, counseling and psychological and spiritual support which would help PLWHIV cope with their situations and to live with hope. Traditional medicines can also play major role for treatment that can serve as complementary to bio-medicine.

In this chapter, I have shown that FBOs have responded meaningfully to the struggle against HIV and AIDS. However, to maximize their interventions, greater coordination and better communication are urgently needed between organizations of different faiths and the private and public health sectors to achieve core goals of the SDGs agenda on health.

Chapter 25: Inculturating *Nhimbe* in Response to Vatican II Teaching on Collaborative Ministry for Sustainable Development in Zimbabwe

Takesure Mahohoma and Prosper Muzambi

Introduction

The issue of collaborative ministry is both a biblical and African cultural phenomenon. One such example is that set up by Jesus Christ when he sent his disciples in pairs for their apostolic missions. This model of ministry can be considered in these days of high competition for wealth accumulation where many are competing vigorously for a share in natural resources. Reflecting on the biblical and theological concepts of co-operative engagement, this study will explore ways through which the Shona concept of *nhimbe* can be considered as a viable alternative ideology in fostering sustainable community development. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the essence of *nhimbe* with its concomitants that can be used for sustainable development in both rural and urban Zimbabwe. *Nhimbe* is treated as a multifaceted concept that carries economic, social, religious and political overtones. It can be translated into communal plans, performance and procedures for supporting one another in the community in order to achieve the desired objectives.

In this chapter, *nhimbe* receives a special renewed attention in the light of the current Zimbabwean social and economic environment which apparently encourages all to be entrepreneurial through the government's blue print of the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZimAsset). The Shona philosophy for co-operative socio-economic endeavours is realized in the *Nhimbe* concept which this chapter argues to be a central alternative model that equips the poor and disadvantaged rural people who are being economically dominated by the small rich elite.

Research Methodology

Qualitative research was conducted to examine the perceptions of the Shona people on *nhimbe*, *jakwara* or *jangano*.¹ *Nhimbe* portrays a community's resilience to hard work and togetherness. This is embedded in the local customs and their belief systems. Since most of it is undocumented, we relied on indigenous people in a locale. The quality and validity of knowledge was tested and refined through an adaptive process that includes hand-on experimentation and integration of knowledge into the social community. The interview questions were based on the living conditions of the rural Shona people in Chivi, Masvingo Province, trying to find solutions to challenges that affect them daily and the different activities and outcomes of *nhimbe*. The advantages of this method are that the researcher obtains primary evidence from the people concerned and is able to relate the data to insights from other sciences.

The challenges that we faced included limited time because many people were still busy harvesting. Many people were also busy with political meetings. They managed to participate in some few *nhimbés*. In addition, data was gathered using documentary sources which included books, articles, journals and websites which are available either supporting or opposing *nhimbe*.

Nomenclature of *Nhimbe*

Nhimbe is a Shona traditional concept that runs deep in their culture.² It has a plethora of interpretations depending on the region and cultural practice. It can be loosely translated as community collaboration.

¹ *Jakwara* and *jangano* are concepts closely linked to *nhimbe*. These concepts are elaborated on a section specifically dealing with nomenclature.

² M. Mawere and S. Awuah-Nyamekye, *Harnessing Cultural Capital for Sustainability: A Pan Africanist Perspective*, Mankon: Langaa Research and Publishing CIG, 2015, p. 12.

According to some scholars like Impey and Nussbaum,³ and Ngara,⁴ *nhimbe* is a traditional cooperation in the execution of household chores from agriculture to construction work. This is in agreement with Murisa who posits that the practice was developed within a family structure of social organization where members of the same lineage group got organized into labour teams for ploughing, planting, weeding and other related field duties.⁵ Bourdillon concurs with this line of thought when he writes, "Larger groups of kin may cooperate for larger tasks such as ploughing or reaping."⁶ This practice is usually found in rural communal areas. The practice strengthens the sense of belonging within the communities.⁷ Generally, *nhimbe* refers to residents in a community working together to help each other in daily life. Thus, a family can hire labour from neighbours. As Bourdillon puts it, *nhimbe* is "A more traditional means of obtaining help, which is still the practice in some areas, by holding a work party. The land-holder brews a quantity of millet beer and invites friends and neighbours to help with his work (which apart from agricultural work may involve such tasks as building or roofing a house) for which they can enjoy the beer, which lasts considerably longer

³ M.C. Nussbaum, *The Clash Within: Religion, Violence, and India's Future*. Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 2007.

⁴ C. Ngara, "The Talent Development Model: An African Perspective of Shona Culture," *Talent Development and Excellence – Special Issue on the Elusive Search for the Gifted Personality*, 5, 2013, pp. 23-30.

⁵ T. Murisa, "Social Organization in the Aftermath of Fast Track: Analysis of Emerging Forms of Local Authority, Platforms of Mobilization and Local Cooperation," in *Land and Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe: Beyond White-Settler Capitalism*, S and S Pub, 2013, pp. 251-290.

⁶ M.F.C. Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples: An Ethnography of the Contemporary Shona with Special Reference to their Religion*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1976, p. 74.

⁷ T. Murisa, "Social Organization in the Aftermath of Fast Track: Analysis of Emerging Forms of Local Authority, Platforms of Mobilization and Local Cooperation," in Sam Moyo and Walter Chambati (eds), *Land and Agrarian Reform in Zimbabwe: Beyond White-Settler Capitalism*, Dakar, CODESRIA & AIAS, 2013, pp. 251-330.

than the work.”⁸ It is a practice that is known by different names among Shona ethnic groups. Some communities call it *nhimbe*, while others refer to it as *humwe*, *jangano* or *jakwara*. For Tavuyanago et al, *nhimbe* is synonymous to *jakwara* or *jangano*.⁹ However, there is a thin line of distinction between *nhimbe* and *jakwara* or *jangano*. Mostly *nhimbe* is viewed as a beer party centred on work. Mawere *et al* contend that *nhimbe* is a Shona word that means to help one another. In addition, the word *nhimbe* is embedded in the Shona cultural and anthropological belief system. It entails that people come and work together in order to achieve a common goal.¹⁰ It is a socio-economic practice that is undertaken during ploughing, weeding and harvesting periods.

However, *nhimbe* is not limited to these meanings. There are other forms of *nhimbe* that are realized at rituals and ceremonies that include marriages and funerals. For marriage it is usually a practice among the Shona that *roora rinoitwa muonera pamwe* (marriage is a communal event) through *kupemberera*. Members of the same family make contributions in cash or kind when one of them pays *lobola* (bride price). The communal element is realized in that a *sahwira* (family friend) is called to play a mediatory role between the groom’s and bride’s family during the negotiating process of the *lobola*.

Furthermore, the *nhimbe* practice is realized at funeral rites of passage. When a member of a community dies, community members contribute various forms of help from the moment of a member’s death to the burial. The community pays *chema* (bereavement fund), collects mealie-meal and relish as a way of showing solidarity and oneness. Men will help

⁸ M.F.C. Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples: An Ethnography of the Contemporary Shona with Special Reference to their Religion*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1976, 74.

⁹ B. Tavuyanago, B. Mutami and K. Mbenene, "Traditional Grain Crops in Pre-Colonial and Colonial Zimbabwe: A Factor for Food Security and Social Cohesion among the Shona People," in *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, vol. 12(6), 2010, pp. 1-8.

¹⁰ M. Mawere and S. Awuah-Nyamekye, *Harnessing Cultural Capital for Sustainability: A Pan Africanist Perspective*, Mankon: Langaa Research and Publishing CIG, 2015, p. 12.

erect a *musasa* (temporary shelter) and in the digging of the grave. Collaborative ministry is therefore realized among the Shona of Zimbabwe.

Generally, *nhimbe* entails people working together toward a common goal. It enables people from different villages to work together to uplift the condition of another person. As a result, it cuts down labour costs by enhancing efficiency and effectiveness. It has a powerful social effect through its interactive nature. It is worth noting that this is still being practiced in many areas within Masvingo and Midlands Provinces. Due to the scourge of HIV/AIDS and massive exodus of energetic youth to South Africa, neighbouring countries and elsewhere around the globe, *nhimbe* is a strategy of mobilizing labour in social, economic and political activities. In other words, *nhimbe* provides villagers with labour force. It actually prompts relatives and neighbours from other villages to participate in the farming and social activities which rotate in a special area from one field to another.¹¹ As such, "Even for those who have sufficient means to become economically independent, the *nhimbe* parties remain of great importance."¹²

The gist of *nhimbe* is that the community collaborates in economic, religious, social and political activities. It can be celebrated with a meal, beer or mild beer (*maheu* or *muchaiwa*). This is in contrast to the view of Wrolson,¹³ Mudavanhu and Chitsika,¹⁴ and Gukurume¹⁵ who hold the view that *nhimbe* is only a beer party. The beer for *nhimbe* is announced

¹¹ M.L. Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches*, vol. 1, The Hague: Mouton, 1971.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ J.L. Wrolson, *Re-Inventing Memory and Reforming Performances: A Genealogy of Panic Theatre in Zimbabwe*, PhD, University of Kansas, 2009, pp. 1-129.

¹⁴ C. Mudavanhu and T. Chitsika, "Coping with and Adapting to Food Shortages and Adversities in Semi-Arid Regions of Zimbabwe: The Case of Chivi District," in *International Journal of Innovative Environmental Studies Research*, vol. 1 (2), 2013.

¹⁵ S. Gukurume, "Climate Change, Variability and Sustainable Agriculture in Zimbabwe's Rural Communities," *Russian Journal of Agriculture and Socio-Economic Sciences*, 2(14), 2013, pp. 89-100.

to the public in advance. Daneel says, "As such it is an integral part of Shona social life but with distinctly economic implications."¹⁶ In other words, *nhimbe* is a way of disaster risk management strategies among the Shona. Beer is a promise of economic and social interdependence of farmers who rely mostly on subsistence farming. *Nhimbe* becomes a sure way of getting communal assistance. In the following the research briefly explains the concepts of *jakwara* and *jangano* which are closely linked to *nhimbe*.

Shona Equivalents of *Nhimbe*

The *Nhimbe* concept has got other Shona equivalents. Differences are either dialectical or occasional.¹⁷ According to Baxter Tavuyanago, Nicholas Mutami and Kudakwashe Mbenene "work parties were of two different, but closely related, forms. The first of these was '*humwe*' (beer work parties). '*Humwe*' was invariably known as '*hoka*', '*nhimbe*', or '*jakwara*.' In '*humwe*', an individual seeking to get the assistance of others in his/her work brewed some beer and prepared some food for the workers. '*Humwe*' made the work process a social event akin to a feast in which the workers rejoiced (and made merry) at the same time as they carried out some serious work business."¹⁸ Although '*humwe*' could be called for other work processes, such as the thatching of houses or fencing of homesteads, it was largely an approach used in the production of

¹⁶ M.L. Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches*, vol. 1, The Hague: Mouton, 1971, p. 35.

¹⁷ The Shona language has various dialects that include Zezuru (Mashonaland West, East and Central Provinces), Karanga (Masvingo Province), Manyika (Manicaland), and Korekore (Mashonaland West and Central). – It is also noted that some occasions assume a different name to *nhimbe*, though essentially, the element of collaborative work is the domineering factor. An example is *jakwara*, which is used for the threshing and winnowing of grains.

¹⁸ B. Tavuyanago, B. Mutami and K. Mbenene, "Traditional Grain Crops in Pre-Colonial and Colonial Zimbabwe: A Factor for Food Security and Social Cohesion among the Shona People," in *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, vol. 12(6), 2010, p. 6.

grain crops.¹⁹ '*Humwe*' could be called for all the stages in the circle of grain production, from cutting down trees, digging the land, sowing the crops and weeding the crops, to harvesting the crops. '*Humwe*' was also called for such work as the threshing of the harvested crops and the winnowing of the threshed crops.²⁰ The second of the work processes in the production of traditional grain crops was '*majangano*' (non-beer work parties).²¹ '*Majangano*' operated as a simple labour exchange programme in which members took the work of each household in turn without the host having to prepare beer (and in some cases, even food). A generous host could, however, still make some provisions for his/her guests. Although '*majangano*' could be used in all the stages of grain production, much like '*humwe*', the work process tended to find favour with the last stages of production involving threshing and winnowing of grains. The two stages marking the end of the farming season required the farmers to remove their crops from the temporary holding places (usually bare rock on which threshing took place) to the more durable granaries before livestock could be allowed to roam freely in the fields during the dry season. '*Majangano*', which did not involve the cumbersome process of preparing beer, thus enabled for speedy removal of crops from insecure temporary holding places where even thieves could wreak havoc if the crops were not quickly removed to secured places. The two work processes, '*humwe*' and '*majangano*', not merely brought people together in the production of food, but also accorded the people the opportunity to socialize on a wide range of issues concerning their society. Bhila argues that '*humwes*' and '*majanganos*' accorded members of the community the opportunity to share jokes and to tease each other at the same time as the people worked.²² Jokes and teases were all hallmarks of a sharing and peace loving society.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom: the Manyika and their African and Portuguese Neighbours, 1575-1902*, Harlow: Longman, 1982.

²¹ J. M. Gombe, *Tsika DzavaShona*, 2nd edition. Harare: College Press, 1998.

²² H.H.K. Bhila, *Trade and Politics in a Shona Kingdom: the Manyika and their African and Portuguese Neighbours, 1575-1902*, Harlow: Longman, 1982.

Locating *Nhimbe* within the Wider African Context

It is noted that *nhimbe* has its equivalents around Africa. There are hybrid terms that are akin to it. Examples are: *Ujamaa* of Julius Nyerere²³ and *Harambee* of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta.²⁴

²³ *Ujamaa* is a Swahili word for the traditional kinship communalism existing in rural communities in Africa. The literal translation is familyhood. The argument is that members of the community lived and worked together consciously or unconsciously. This is how life was understood. *Ujamaa* reinforced each other against difficulties (M. Minogue and J. Moloy (eds), *African Aims and Attitudes*, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p. 87). Members of the community thought of themselves as one due to culture and language. The person's identity was established in terms of relationships, this is why a sense of belonging is vital among the Shona people. *Ujamaa* produced the sense of joint labour whereby the property belongs to all people. Therefore, *Ujamaa* is when people live in an organized way without exploiting one another. Thus, people are urged to secure their needs cooperatively. The underlining factor of *Ujamaa* is the knitting of spirits (C. Mwoleka and J. Healey, *Ujamaa and Christian Communities*, Eldoret: Gaba Publications, 1976, p. 9). This concept is about educating people's attitudes in a way that make them brothers and sisters. It is a community where members deliberately organize themselves as living parts of the same organism without exploiting one another. The heavy emphasis of *Ujamaa* is gradual rural development. In *Ujamaa* everyone has a corresponding duty to cooperate and contribute for development.

²⁴ *Harambee* is a term that is used for economic and social development (P. Mbithi and R. Rasmusson, *Self-Reliance in Kenya: The Case of Harambee*, Uppsala: The Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, 1977, p. 13). There are similar uses for *harambee* like *Ujamaa* in Tanzania and Humanism in Zambia. *Harambee* is self-help that aims to contribute to development. According to Mbithi and Rasmusson, "*Harambee*, as a concept, means collective effort, i.e. pull together (1977:13). This concept embodies mutual assistance, joint. effort, mutual social responsibility and community self-reliance. "It is applied in day-to-day life in such ways as collective neighbourhood house-building, weeding, bush clearing, irrigation, harvesting and fund-raising. The term *harambee* has its equivalence in their Kenyan tribal languages. It is applied to activities of a village. – The critical issue is to support rural poor people to organize themselves to participate in economic and sustainable development. This ensures equitable share of the benefits.

***Nhimbe* within the Context of the Second Vatican Council**

The Second Vatican Council was convened by Pope John XXIII. It ran from 1962 to 1965. The Second Vatican Council challenged all Christians with a threefold call to holiness, to ministry and to community. The same council also introduced an integrative context for responding to that triple call, the concept of the People of God. Previously the framework for ministry accented the call of the individual Christian. Now the focus was upon the holiness and ministry of 'the people' - a shared, collaborative approach.²⁵ It is the call to collaborative ministry that finds resonance in the Shona concept and practice of *nhimbe*.

Collaboration, as defined by Sofield and Juliano, is the identification, release and union of the gifts of all baptized persons.²⁶ The belief that every baptized person is gifted and called to ministry is the basis for collaboration. The concept of giftedness is central to an understanding and implementation of collaborative ministry. Zimbabwe has a Christian population of approximately 85%,²⁷ hence the possibility to talk of 'baptized persons' within the Zimbabwean context.

The Second Vatican Council Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests²⁸ emphasizes the point that:

All priests are sent forth as co-workers in the same undertaking, whether they are engaged in parochial or supra-parochial ministry, whether they devote their efforts to scientific research or teaching,

²⁵ L. Sofield and C. Juliano, *Collaborative Ministry*, Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1987, p. 11.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ M. Manyonganise, 'Christianity in Zimbabwe' in I. Apawo Phiri, D. Werner, C. Kaunda and K. Owino (eds), *Anthology of African Christianity*. Oxford: Regnum, 2016, pp 766-771; P. Muzambi, "Religion, Citizenship and the State of Zimbabwe: The Politics of Zimbabwe's First Lady Grace Mugabe," in M. Christian Green, I.J. Hackett, Len Hansen and Francois Venter (eds), *Religious Pluralism, Heritage and Social Development in Africa*. Stellenbosch: SUN Media, 2017, pp. 71-89).

²⁸ W.M. Abbott, *The Documents of Vatican II*, New York: The American Press, 1966, pp. 549-550.

whether by manual labour they share in the lot of the workers themselves.... All indeed are united in the single goal of building up Christ's Body, a work requiring manifold roles and new adjustments, especially nowadays.

Priests are urged to "always help one another to be fellow workers."²⁹ A meaningful and sustainable ministry is through collaboration. Likewise, a meaningful and sustainable community is one that finds each by recognizing the strength of the other and utilizes it for the benefit of the *bonum commune* (common good) through *nhimbe*.

The Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests also recognizes the indispensability of the community in the life of a priest. It does this by asserting that:

Priests must sincerely acknowledge and promote the dignity of the laity and the role which is proper to them in the mission of the Church.... They should listen to the laity willingly, consider their wishes in a fraternal spirit, and recognize their experience and competence in the different areas of human activity, so that together with them they will be able to read the signs of the times.³⁰

At some point in the history of the Church, ministry was placed in the hands of only a small number of the gifted Christian community. Sole responsibility was surrendered into the hands of professed men and women religious, the ordained, and some laity. It was more of a 'Lone Ranger' approach to ministry. Yet any significant inroads into eliminating some of the world's most critical issues such as hunger, injustice and poverty will not be accomplished by one person or by a small group. It requires the efforts of many people with different philosophies, theologies and backgrounds working together to effect attitudinal and structural change. This is the same approach as realized from the *nhimbe* philosophy among the Shona people of Zimbabwe. They avoid the 'Lone Ranger' approach as realized from expressions such as '*chara chimwe hachitswanye inda*' (one thumb cannot squash a louse), '*zano ndega*

²⁹ Ibid, p. 550.

³⁰ Ibid, p. 552-553.

akasiya jira mumasese (know-it all left his/her blanket in the dreg) and *rume rimwe harikombe churu* (one man cannot surround an anthill).

Praxis of *Nhimbe* and its Implications

There are several ways of practicing *nhimbe*. The traditional procedure for *nhimbe* is that the host seeks permission or simply informs the village head of his/her intentions, and of the date and venue. This will entail the nature of work to be done. The duration of notice depends on the community; some can notify a week before while others one month or two weeks before the day of doing work. As Dhodho observes, "Invitations are also send out to various village-heads and even the local Headman so that he/she also graces the ceremony."³¹ On the very day of *nhimbe* people arrive early in the morning so that they can start working while it is cool. All the participants bring their different expertise. These involve collective agricultural activities such as sowing, ploughing, weeding and reaping.³² A family can work on the land allocated to it but whenever it is overwhelmed by labour, *nhimbe* is organized. During the harvesting period, there is usually *nhimbe* of cutting *zviyo* (red millet), sorghum and *rapoko* in many villages. It is a celebration of *nhimbe* that brings people together that they work as a community. Almost everyone from around the village comes along to the *nhimbe* with a knife or a basket to place the millet in.

Nhimbe becomes a community affair. It is a community development and empowerment approach. This is because a community works together. People work together and share proceeds. However, this also be enhanced with new technical methods of communal empowerment that comes with donors and local government. People can work together because of their locality and sense of belonging. As Nzenza writes, "We could work together in one big group because we are a community with the same beliefs and values of hard work."

³¹ O. Dhodho, *Traditional Taboos Defined: Conflict Prevention, Myths and Realities*, Harare, IDA Publishers, Bindura University Press, 2015, p. 51.

³² M.L. Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches*, vol. 1, The Hague: Mouton, 1971, p. 35.

But *nhimbe* can also include molding bricks, thatching, fencing and digging and spreading manure in the fields. Hence Nzenza writes, at *nhimbe* “Each person brought a working tool and the owner of *nhimbe* provided food and drink.” Normally at this occasion people enjoy the privilege of eating meat and drink which are difficult to get in rural areas.

The widows, orphans and the aged without labour and source of income would immensely benefit from *nhimbe*. *Nhimbe* would assist the poor in the society. As Mawere argues, “The communalistic nature of the Shona society embedded within their ethical and societal values and mores enabled them to see to it that the welfare and plight of the disadvantaged and vulnerable members were promoted and look after by the entire community.”³³ The Shona community catered for the less privileged through *nhimbe*. This was a social security mechanism to support the landless, orphans, the old and widows. For agricultural purposes, *nhimbe* is called at the beginning of rainy season. People assist others with ploughing and weeding the fields. However, “The heavy work on the fields must be done by men.”³⁴ The heavy work includes clearing of a field, cutting small trees, digging manure and moulding bricks. But, women can also partake in planting, weeding, reaping and threshing. Generally women do not take up strenuous tasks. This attracts people from the whole community who come with working tools. Even people without any of the required tools just come and assist those with them. As Dhodho³⁵ writes, “These activities are characterized by equal partnership and task-orientation; no one looks at the sophistication of another’s equipment, all is required is execution of the task at hand. Thus, no one can fail to provide something. A person without cattle, plough or hoe can provide an axe to cut down trees or even relieve the old men. This means any failure to

³³ M. Mawere, and S. Awuah-Nyamekye, *Harnessing Cultural Capital for Sustainability: A Pan Africanist Perspective*, Mankon: Langaa Research and Publishing CIG, 2015, p. 1.

³⁴ M.F.C. Bourdillon, *The Shona Peoples: An Ethnography of the Contemporary Shona with Special Reference to their Religion*, Gweru: Mambo Press, 1976, p. 73.

³⁵ O. Dhodho, *Traditional Taboos Defined: Conflict Prevention, Myths and Realities*, Harare, IDA Publishers, Bindura University Press, 2015, p. 50.

cooperate during renders one a social misfit. Among the Shona such a person is dead. In addition, participation in the *nhimbe* system is a matter of social urgency, because anyone for one reason or another keeps himself/herself and the family from this activity is cut off from communal life.

Just like in the case of Nzenza, on the day of *nhimbe*, men and women start very early in the morning to do work like ploughing in the fields, harvesting, digging manure, molding bricks or fencing. When it is around 10 and 11 am people are served with something to drink. After working for about almost 3 hours people go for short break called *chikumura mambhachi*. The participants are served with breakfast which is usually in the form of light beer (*muchaiwa*) or *mageu*. In this contemporary period, people can have tea, home-made bread (*chimupoto chwai*), sweet potatoes, or maize. This is called *chikumura mabhachi* or *chirovamatsa* (traditional tea break). It is presumed that people have worked and need to be reenergized. Mostly young people either drink something non-alcoholic but elders can take sizeable quantities of beer. The moral principle is that people should not get drunk early until they finish the work to be done.

But later people can drink to their fill in order for them to work harder. After breakfast, people are expected to work again before they are served with lunch.³⁶ Lunch is usually served with sadza, rice, meat and traditional beer. If the host can afford other luxuries he/she can give out to the participants. Beer is served at intervals. Dhodho³⁷ writes, "It is after beer has been served that participants can start singing relevant songs." Some of the songs teach or reprimand immoral behaviour. Chiwome³⁸ and Wrolson³⁹ add that such songs and their messages could not be repeated in any other social setting and neither could that be taken to implicate

³⁶ Ibid, p. 52.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ E.M. Chiwome, "Traditional Shona Poetry and Mental Health," *Zambezia*, vol. XIX, 1992, no. 1.

³⁹ J.L. Wrolson, *Re-Inventing Memory and Reforming Performances: A Genealogy of Panic Theatre in Zimbabwe*, PhD, University of Kansas, 2009.

any person involved in immoral activities. This is confirmed by Mudavanhu and Chitsika who argue that as people work they are served with beer. This makes them work the whole day without realizing the amount of time they have spent working. This is affirmed by Daneel⁴⁰ who argues, “Much beer (*doro*) is brewed for the occasion, because beer is a tangible form of compensation (not as payment in the strict sense of the word, but in recognition of the principle of reciprocity) given to the village members who offer their services on the appointed day.”

In other instances, people eat and drink at lunchtime. When people get drunk they even ask for more work to be done. When people are excited this is accompanied by dance and singing. Wrolson⁴¹ argues that traditionally participants are urged to sing out any immoral denunciations. As people work, they sing so that they are motivated to work and complete the task easily. “The songs also assisted to synchronize the movement of whatever tools so that participants kept the same tempo and pace.”⁴² This can go on until evening. Some people would have their supper and sleep at the same place. It is an occasion of celebrating good community work. The *nhimbe* becomes an occasion for people to meet and discuss. It is therefore understandable that membership of Christian church that strictly forbid any form of beer drinking would, if taken seriously by a villager, have far-reaching social and economic implications for itself. There is a mistaken notion among some believers that *nhimbe* beer is associated with ancestral spirits and evil deeds. In order to avoid economic implications these types of churches have allowed their members to prepare *mangisi* (unmalted sweet beer) so that they can get labour force. But sometimes this can make people get drunk if it has been kept for a long time before is drunk. At times, elders do not go to such a *nhimbe* and send youngsters. In addition, another *nhimbe* would be announced before people depart.

⁴⁰ M.L. Daneel, *Old and New in Southern Shona Independent Churches*, vol. 1, The Hague: Mouton, 1971, p. 35.

⁴¹ J.L. Wrolson, *Re-Inventing Memory and Reforming Performances: A Genealogy of Panic Theatre in Zimbabwe*, PhD, University of Kansas, 2009.

⁴² O. Dhodho, *Traditional Taboos Defined: Conflict Prevention, Myths and Realities*, Harare, IDA Publishers, Bindura University Press, 2015, p. 51.

Nhimbe is organized in such a way that it does not collide with the traditional Sabbath (*chisi*) or Sunday. Usually these two days are reserved for people to pray and meetings. Thus, people honour the ancestors and God so that they continue to receive good rains and enjoy good harvest. This is the common practice since most people have become Christians.

After harvesting people, engage in form of *nhimbe* called *jakwara*. This is done during dry season. It when people e threshing and winnowing *rapoko*, millet or sorghum. (*Jangano*: Taking turns to look after live-stock) Nzenza opines, "During the *jakwara* ceremony, the *vakuwasha* or sons-in-law, went out into the bush to find thin long sticks, *mupuro* from the *mutondo* trees." However, these can also cut from any tree depending on the locality or availability of trees. But there are some sacred trees which cannot be cut or pruned. On this occasion women bring winnowing baskets. All the millet or sorghum is placed on the flat hard rock that they are thrashed by either by cattle and later finished by men. Women support men by ululating and singing to thrash thoroughly. Nzenza stipulates that some village secrets are shared through the medium of the song.⁴³

Based on the above sensitivity, children are not allowed to attend *jakwara*. This is because adults see this occasion as the forum to voice out old grievances. They tell some secrets and make sexual references to an incident of adultery. *Jakwara* is a moral occasion to reprimand one another. According to Nzenza, "The adults danced, laughed and spoke with much laughter."⁴⁴ Like a seal of confession, the secrets shared remain at *jakwara*. Thus to share something of *jakwara* is tantamount to being immoral and the person even deserves to be severely punished or excommunicated from society.

⁴³ S. Nzenza, "Celebrating 'Nhimbe:' Our Traditional Communal Way of Working Together" in *The Herald*, Harare: ANZ Publishers, 2017.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Developmental Outcomes of *Nhimbe*

Community Resilience

The local people are committed to the *nhimbe*. This enhances the developmental activities that change their life situation. People wish each one to succeed in his/her project. *Nhimbe* is a community activity. The collective capacity to respond and engage influences others to change attitude. Thus, people are united and share life experiences within the same area. People of the same community participate in *nhimbe*. The intended result is economic, social and political development.

Since communities have many resources within and outside, they can engage people to respond to develop themselves. The resources that exist in the culture of people can bring change if people work when united. An individual does not solve the challenges.

Nhimbe participation tends to result in the mobilization of resources and accomplishment of more tasks with the same or a smaller budget. This enhances efficiency in resource use for development. Moreover, *nhimbe* enhances self-reliance and development in an area. The culture to work and skills bring holistic personal transformation.

Education

Education is highly valued among the Shona. This is regarded as a solution to get rid of poverty. Hence, people respect people who are educated. Education is not an individual effort but the effort of the community. It is the responsibility of community that children go to school. The community supports those are lacking resources through donations. This is a form of *nhimbe*. Thus, *nhimbe* teaches people to have a sense of community. The place and dignity of an individual is benchmarked by one's contribution to the community. Thus, a person has to be sensitive to the needs of others in the community.

Economy

In Zimbabwe, many foreign owned industries have collapsed. As a result, many people have been left unemployed. Even the agricultural produc-

tion has been affected adversely. De facto, since the implementation of land reform in 2000, agricultural production has decreased by 52%. Currently the country suffers a serious cash crisis. Hence, employees cannot receive salaries, pay school fees or medical costs. In this economic environment, the *nhimbe* approach is needed to resuscitate the economy. The black and white farmers should collaborate in farming skills. Moreover, the local community should protect their resources and thereby shun greedy technocrats who move from one province to the other plundering resources. For instance, in Marange diamonds worth more than 15 billion dollars went missing.

Housing

Shelter is a necessity. The homeless orphans and the elderly people should have access to houses or stands offered by the government. It is ripe time people own houses and not rent. People can assist each other in molding bricks and clearing ground. In addition, people should have access to electricity, toilets and clean water. The disposal of garbage should be done in a way that does not cause health hazard. Resources can be used to build houses for the homeless affected by floods.

Nhimbe as Inculturated Collaborative Ministry

The model of *nhimbe* can be used for collaborative ministry. It is a way of discharging social ministry obligations. Collaborative ministry enables the pastors and the Christian community to work together for a common goal. The pastor recognizes the importance and legitimacy of local mission. The community has a ministry to share. This is possible when there is a positive communication between the laity and the pastors.

The pastors who choose a *nhimbe* approach in pastoral ministry become key leaders of the ministry. Like apostolic Fathers, they contribute much in theological foundations in groups and small Christian communities. The assumption is that shared responsibility and collaborative ministry serve as a foundation for the church's efforts to advance the mission and

ministry of Jesus in the world.⁴⁵ A community is the center of church's life.

The Second Vatican Council strongly recommends collaborative ministry calling it a shared responsibility or community of God's people.⁴⁶ A shared responsibility means that all Christians have a right and the duty to participate in Christ's mission regardless of the state of life. Thus, a Christian community serves by using talents. In other words, people exercise different roles in advancing the kingdom of God. Therefore, every person's contribution is vitally needed in order to build up the Christian community. Hence, collaborative ministry is neither a luxury nor an option. It is rather a necessary dimension, "It demands interdependence and partnership between bishops, priests, between clergy, religious, and laity, and between parish and diocese."⁴⁷ This is *nhimbe* in the church at its core. People work as a family without distinctions of roles. Hence the essence of common priesthood. The Catechism of the Catholic Church 1547 states,

The ministerial or hierarchical priesthood of bishops and priests, and the common priesthood of all the faithful participate, "each in its own proper way, in the one priesthood of Christ." While being "ordered one to another," they differ essentially. In what sense? While the common priesthood of the faithful is exercised by the unfolding of baptismal grace - a life of faith, hope, and charity, a life according to the Spirit - the ministerial priesthood is at the service of the common priesthood. It is directed at the unfolding of the baptismal grace of all Christians. The ministerial priesthood is a means by which Christ unceasingly builds up and leads his Church. For this reason it is transmitted by its own sacrament, the sacrament of Holy Orders.⁴⁸

It is the duty of all Christians to proclaim the gospel of Christ. It is a formative work in the church.

⁴⁵ E.J. Hubbard, *Fulfilling the Vision*, New York: Crossroad, 1998, p. 20.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 24.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 25.

⁴⁸ The Catechism of the Catholic Church, Nairobi: Paulines, 1994.

The notion of *nhimbe* emphasizes that the church is not a clerically dominated society but a community of persons who share the life of Jesus Christ. Sofield and Juliano⁴⁹ write, “The basis for all ministry is giftedness.” The goal of collaboration is to unify the gifts of all people. In the Documents of Vatican II it is sated that all lay persons are called to an apostolate and are obliged to engage in it.⁵⁰ This is more than mere recognition and acceptance of a person. Therefore, it is a manifestation of God’s love. Thus, the face of Christ is manifested in communion and Trinitarian love.⁵¹

Integrative Reflection

In this book, we have seen that *nhimbe* is a value that empowers people. It is manifested in engaging communities to sustain themselves economically, socially and politically. The individual effort is supported so that it can be realized. It gives a person sense of the community. Both community and individual problems are approached and solved as our own. The talents of individuals are identified and cultivated.

Moreover, *nhimbe* is a mechanism used to manage natural calamities like drought and famine. “The communalistic nature of the Shona society embedded within their ethical and societal values and mores enabled them to see to it that the welfare and plight of the disadvantaged and vulnerable members were promoted and looked after by the entire community.” The traditional Shona society catered for the orphans, the widowed and those who were visually and physically challenged. Such benevolent measures ensured that nobody goes hungry and homeless. Thus, people have compassion for others in need shown by caring acts of generosity or kindness. *Nhimbe* shows the communal leadership style. Thus a good leader would encourage the community to show sympathy to the landless, the hungry and the homeless. It is important to note that *nhimbe* is a social security

⁴⁹ L. Sofield and C. Juliano, *Collaborative Ministry*, Notre Dame: Ave Maria Press, 1987, p. 16.

⁵⁰ A. Flannery (ed), Vatican Council II. The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents, Bombay: St Paul Publications, 1965, p. 506.

⁵¹ *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, Nairobi: Paulines Publications, 2004, p. 20.

mechanism, which supports the disadvantaged and vulnerable community members in the face of potential risks.

To move the motion that *nhimbe* is a viable sustainable development instrument is not an appeal to a fossil culture that is retrogressive. As argued by August, there is something that traditional values, practices and institutions can offer today and in the future.⁵² *Nhimbe* is equivalent to the collaborative ministry set out by the Second Vatican Council. It acknowledges that individual efforts have serious limitations and it is only a recognition of the giftedness of the other that the effort to collectively progress as a society is realized

⁵² CCAP Zambia Synod. Minutes of the Biannual Synod Meeting of the Church of Central Africa Presbyterian (CCAP) Synod of Zambia held in Lusaka, Midlands Presbytery at Reformed Church in Zambia (RCZ) Business Centre from 25th-29th August, 2010.

Chapter 26: Religion and Development in Zambia: A Case of the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection

Nelly Mwale and Joseph Chita

Introduction

The relationship between religion and development has been framed from different perspectives. For example, Jarosz observes that this discourse exemplifies opposing opinions stretching from the acknowledgment of the positive role of religion within the developmental processes, the more critical approaches which attempt to produce a balanced picture of the advantages and disadvantages mediated by the impacts of religion and to the negative identification of religion as the source of the pressures which are hindering or even undermining sustained progress.¹ Thus, aware of these debates, this chapter falls within the discourse on the positive role of religion and sets out to show how religion has shaped the developmental agenda directly and indirectly using Christianity and specifically the Catholic Church through the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) in Zambia.

We acknowledge that many religious communities and Christian churches are involved in the developmental agenda at different levels. Thus, the Catholic Church has only been used as an example of what the church can do to drive the agenda. Most importantly, JCTR presents a unique case of a church institution that has entered into knowledge production, which has been known to be a preserve of academic institutions. For example, Henriot has observed that the Catholic Church in Zambia has over the years played a very significant role in the development of the country both through direct service institutions (like schools and hospitals) and explicit social teaching on key issues facing the country at

¹ T. Jarosz, "The Church as an Agent for Economic Development," *Africa Tomorrow*, 17(1), 2015.

large.² As such, the church has gained herself a prominent and respected place, in cooperation with other church bodies, in influencing the social, economic and political life of the people,³ as well as the religious life of individuals and the community.⁴

The Centre engages in research on key social issues like cost of living, social implications of debt servicing, accessibility of healthcare and education, and integrity of local democracy.⁵ Moreover, the research carried out by JCTR has been recognized by the UK Government, which funds some of Zambia's civil society think tanks through the UK Department for International Development (DFID).⁶ The DFID Zambia report states:

There are a small number of think tanks that have produced influential information and research in recent years, most notably the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) and the Centre for Trade Policy and Development (CTPD). For example, JCTR's 'basic needs basket' setting out the costs of the goods it judges a family needs to meet its basic needs is a well-known and discussed product.⁷

² P. Henriot, "What is Development? Promoting the Good of every Person and of the Whole Person," A Seminar Paper Presentation on *Populorum Progressio*, Peru: 2007.

³ M. Hinfelaar, "Legitimizing Powers: The Political Role of the Roman Catholic Church, 1972-1991," J. Gewald, M. Hinfelaar and G. Macola (eds), *One Zambia, Many Histories-Towards a History of Post-colonial Zambia*, Lusaka: Lembani Trust, 2009.

⁴ P. Henriot, "What is Development? Promoting the Good of Every Person and of the Whole Person," a Seminar Paper Presentation on *Populorum Progressio*, Peru: 2007; H. Hinfelaar, *History of the Catholic Church in Zambia 1895-1995*, Lusaka: Book World Publishers, 2004.

⁵ Submission to the Universal Periodic Review of Zambia, 2012

⁶ P. Henriot, "African Centres for Catholic Social Teaching as a Leaven of Integral Development," *Political Theology*, 15 (1), 2014.

⁷ DFID Zambia, "Economic Advocacy Programme Business Case," June 2012.

The study is located in the interpretivist paradigm as it seeks to understand and portray how religion was used for research to promote the development agenda and processes.⁸ In this regard, document analysis and recorded interviews were the main methods of collecting data, which was thematically analyzed. These methodological decisions were informed by Merriam⁹ and Yin¹⁰ who suggest that case studies present numerous evidentiary sources such as documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observation and physical artifacts.

Other than being framed by the Catholic social teaching,¹¹ the chapter is also much in conversation with Gerrie ter Haar and Stephen Ellis who have broadly interrogated the role of religion in development.¹² This chapter will argue that the role of religion in development as mirrored in the activities of the JCTR is in essence religion disguised as research for development. This study is therefore deemed significant because it not only contributes to the existing body of knowledge, but also opens up the conversation on religion and development at a time when religious presence in the public sphere has become a topic of debate. For example, few studies have been conducted on the JCTR such as Mwale who evaluated the ways in which the JCTR communicated to its target audience the basic needs basket information and established that the dissemination was through the media, focal persons and presentations at seminars and

⁸ S.R. Ponelis, "Using interpretive qualitative case studies for exploratory research in doctoral studies: A case of Information Systems research in small and medium enterprises." *International Journal of Doctoral Studies*, 10, 2015:535-550.

⁹ S. Merriam, *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass 1998.

¹⁰ R.K. Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Method*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2003.

¹¹ M.L.K. Mich, *Catholic Social Teaching and Movements*, Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 2001.

¹² S. Ellis and G. Ter Haar, *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa*, vol.1, Oxford: Oxford University Press on Demand, 2004.

workshops.¹³ Lungu also evaluated the effectiveness of the work of JCTR using the views of the Christian mother bodies in Zambia and established that JCTR was effective as its policies were concerned with people's welfare and tried to improve the status of human beings, including the spiritual and physical aspects of human beings.¹⁴ As such, this chapter presents a practical engagement with how religion can promote integral development in the African context.

Context

Zambia has been described in different ways. For example, Henriot notes that Zambia is a very rich country, (in land, water, agriculture, minerals, tourist sites and absence of wars), one of the richest in Africa, and yet Zambians are very poor people, some of the poorest in the world.¹⁵ Its population stood at approximately 13,046,508 according to the last census in 2010.¹⁶ Zambia's economy is mainly dependent on mining, agriculture, commerce and trade, manufacturing and industry, and tourism. It's most important national resources include copper, cobalt, zinc, lead, coal, emeralds, gold, silver, uranium, hydroelectric power, fertile land, wildlife, forests, and abundant surface and groundwater.¹⁷ Zambia's economy experienced strong growth in the last decade and real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth averaged 6 percent per year between

¹³ S. Mwale, *The JCTR Basic Needs Basket: Appraisal and Proposal for Effective Communication Strategy*, MA, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2007.

¹⁴ K. Lungu, *The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflections in Zambia*, MA, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2014.

¹⁵ P. Henriot, "What is Development? Promoting the Good of Every Person and of the Whole Person," a Seminar Paper Presentation on *Populorum Progressio*, Peru: 2007.

¹⁶ Central Statistical Office, *Zambia Census of Population and Housing*, Lusaka: CSO, 2010.

¹⁷ Southern African Regional Universities Association, "Zambia Profile Report," *Towards a Common Future: Higher Education in the SADC Region*, Johannesburg: Sarua.

2005 and 2012.¹⁸ Despite this, Zambians were ranked 163th out of 173 on the UNDP Human Development Index, with the World Bank estimating that more than 80 percent of the population are living on less than one dollar a day.¹⁹ UNDP reported that Zambia's Human Development Index value for 2014 was 0.586, which placed the country in the medium human development category and ranked it 139th out of 188 countries and territories.²⁰

Politically, Zambia is a multi-party democracy, struggling to achieve good governance as issues of corruption and electoral disputes are still topical. The country adopted a new constitution in 2016. Zambia also has a vital civil society, often led by a very vivacious church. It is in this context that the Catholic Church has played a major role, as it is a church working to implement the guidelines designed by the 1994 African Synod, and articulated in the 1995 Apostolic Exhortation of John Paul II, *Ecclesia in Africa*.²¹ These guidelines describe the task of *evangelization* through proclamation, enculturation, dialogue, justice and peace and communication.²²

It is also acknowledged that apart from the presence of the civil society, Zambia also has numerous Christian denominations and religious traditions. For instance, as of 2014, Cheyeka had reported that of Zambia's population (14, 222, 000), 95.5% were Christians, 0.5% were Muslims, 0.1% were Hindus, while other and non-affiliated categories accounted

¹⁸ G. Masaiti, and N. Mwale, "University of Zambia: Contextualization and Contribution to Flagship Status in Zambia," in D. Teferra (ed), *Flagship Universities in Africa*, Cham: Springer International Publication, 2017.

¹⁹ P. Henriot, "What is Development? Promoting the Good of Every Person and of the Whole Person," a Seminar Paper Presentation on *Populorum Progressio*, Peru: 2007.

²⁰ UNDP, *Zambia Human Development Report*, Lusaka: UNDP, 2016, p. 33.

²¹ P. Henriot, "What is Development? Promoting the Good of Every Person and of the Whole Person," a Seminar Paper Presentation on *Populorum Progressio*, Peru: 2007.

²² M. Browne (ed), *The African Synod: Documents, Reflections, and Perspectives*, New York: Orbis Books, 1996.

for 2% and 1.9%.²³ As such, different churches are involved in the developmental agenda in many ways. This chapter only focuses on the Catholic Church in order to mirror how a church through her resources and institutions has shaped and contributed to the developmental agenda in Zambia.

Defining Religion and Development

Ellis and ter Haar acknowledge that a major obstacle to investigating the role of religion in development is the widespread misunderstanding about what development actually is.²⁴ In this chapter we employ the wider understanding of development which, according to the United Nations Development Programme, ‘is about creating an environment in which people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accord with their needs and interests.’²⁵ It thus refers to people’s resources beyond any purely material and technocratic aspects.

Like Gerrie ter Haar, we view the concept of development through the prism of religion. For example, the modern idea of development can be seen as the secular translation of a millenarian belief, concerning the construction of a perfect world. Inherent in this thinking are an aspiration to eliminate evil in all its forms from the earth and the belief that human beings will eventually be able to achieve this goal. As such, the overall goal of development can easily be linked to those Christian beliefs that are concerned about the creation of a perfect world, which in this case is seen through the work of the Catholic Church through JCTR’s mission to generate activities for promotion of the fullness of human life through research, education, advocacy and consultation.

²³ A.M. Cheyeka, “Zambia,” in *Worldmark Encyclopedia of Religious Practices*, vol. 4: 2014.

²⁴ S. Ellis and Gerrie ter Haar, *Worlds of Power: Religious Thought and Political Practice in Africa*, vol. 1, Oxford: Oxford University Press on Demand, 2004.

²⁵ UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 2013, www.hdrundp.org/en/reports/global/hdr, [12.7.2017].

As Pope John Paul II observed in *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis*, authentic development is ‘for each and for all, the transition from less human conditions to those which are more human.’²⁶ It is for this reason that the Catholic Church speaks of integral human development as the holistic development of the human person, covering all aspects of life: social, economic, political, cultural, personal and spiritual. It promotes the dignity of the human person, equality between every person, and the common good of all people in the community.²⁷ In the *Populorum Progressio*, Pope Paul VI introduced the concept of integral development:

Development cannot be limited to mere economic growth alone. In order to be authentic, it must be complete: integral, that is, it has to promote the good of every person and of the whole person.²⁸

As such, the concept of integral human development enables the church to understand the multi-dimensional nature of human development so as to look beyond the bounds of ‘sectors’, address structural inequalities and see individuals facing extreme poverty in the context of family and community.²⁹ Pope Francis has also helped the church to understand integral human development as addressing economic inequalities and measuring opportunities, dignity and solidarity for everyone.³⁰ In linking religion and development, ter Haar and Ellis point to religious resources that produce knowledge that could be beneficial to a community for

²⁶ Pope John Paul II, *Sollicitudo Rei Socialis* (The Social Concern of the Church), Encyclical Letter issued 30 December 1987.

²⁷ M.L.K. Mich, *Catholic Social Teaching and Movements*, Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 2001.

²⁸ Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio* (The Development of the Peoples), Encyclical Letter, 26 March 1967.

²⁹ A.M. Verhoye, Unfreezing the Organizational Culture of the Catholic Church: A Case Study of Pope Francis’ Organizational Culture Change Initiative Using the Transformational Leadership Theoretical Framework, PhD thesis, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2015.

³⁰ B. Duncan, “Pope Francis’s Call for Social Justice in the Global Economy,” *The Australian Catholic Record*, 91 (2), 2014.

development purposes.³¹ These include religious ideas (what people actually believe), religious practices (ritual behaviour), and religious organization (how religious communities are formed and function), and religious – or spiritual – experiences (such as the subjective experience of inner change or transformation).³²

This chapter will seek to show how religious resources in the Catholic Church through JCTR have been used for research for development in Zambia. This has been facilitated by the Catholic social teachings that articulate a faith-based view of development in which the contributions of spiritual disciplines, ethical actions and a person's 'vocation to human fulfilment' are addressed alongside contributions made by markets, public policy, and poverty reduction.³³ Though the work is largely in conversation with Gerrie ter Haar and Stephen Ellis, indirectly the insights from social change campaign theories can also be true for the work of the JCTR in Zambia. McGuire notes that a social change campaign is a deliberate effort by one group called the change agent which designs a programme that is intended to persuade other people to accept, modify attitudes, practices and behaviour.³⁴ Going by this, JCTR is identified as a change agent (religious resource), which has initiated through its programmes campaigns to persuade on the one-hand policy makers and on the other hand empower the public to engage in dialogue with policy makers on issues that affect their well-being to promote social and economic development.

³¹ Gerrie ter Haar and S. Ellis, "The Role of Religion in Development: Towards a New Relationship between the European Union and Africa," *The European Journal of Development Research*, 18(3), 2006.

³² Gerrie ter Haar, "Religion: Source of Conflict or Resource for Peace?" in Gerrie ter Haar and James J. Busuttil (eds), *Bridge or Barrier: Religion, Violence and Visions for Peace*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005, pp. 22-27.

³³ Pope Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio* (The Development of Peoples), Encyclical Letter, 26 March 1967.

³⁴ W.J. McGuire, Theoretical Foundations of Campaigns, in R.E. Rice and C. K. Atkin (eds), *Public Communication Campaigns*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989. pp. 43-65.

Brief History of JCTR

The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection (JCTR) is a church-affiliated civil society organization that conducts evidence-based advocacy on social, political, cultural and economic issues. It was established to examine the Zambian and Malawian social, economic, cultural and political situations from a theological perspective and to undertake appropriate research and action with a special concern for the poor.³⁵ The mission of JCTR is to foster from a faith-inspired perspective a critical understanding of current issues.³⁶ As such, JCTR seeks to generate action for the promotion of the fullness of human life through research, education, advocacy and consultation and striving to promote an enculturated faith, gender equality and empowerment of local communities in the work of justice and peace and the integrity of creation.³⁷ In Zambia, JCTR started as a social centre in the Zambia-Malawi Province (ZAM) to assist Jesuits in Zambia to reflect theologically and systematically on the Zambian reality. Its history is rooted in the efforts of Fathers Clive Dillon-Malone, Charles Searson and Des O'Brien who conducted a feasibility study for the setting up of the social centre after the idea was introduced in 1987. Fr. Jim McGloin commissioned it in February 1988. Its first director was Fr. Arul Varaprassadam, a Jesuit from India and he was succeeded by Fr. Peter Henriot. Since September 2010, Fr. Leonard Chiti had been the director of JCTR until September 2017 when Fr. Emmanuel Mumba took over.³⁸

³⁵ Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection Social Conditions Research Project, *The JCTR Basic Needs Basket: A Comprehensive Overview*. Lusaka: JCTR, 2006.

³⁶ L. Chiti, "The Basic Needs Basket and the Catholic Social Teaching," A Presentation to the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of Mater et Magistra, 2011.

³⁷ Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection Social Conditions Research Project, *The JCTR Basic Needs Basket: A Comprehensive Overview*, Lusaka: JCTR, 2006.

³⁸ *Jesuit News*, "Fr Leonard Chiti SJ, Named Next Provincial of the Zambia-Malawi Province," 29.5.2017.

JCTR Programmes and the Developmental Agenda

The Catholic Church's Social Teaching that emphasizes human dignity in the community guides JCTR.³⁹ The centre has four programmes that help fulfill its mission. These are the Church Social Teaching programmes, Debt, Aid and Trade programmes, Social Conditions and Outreach programmes.

The Church Social Teaching programme (CST) seeks to promote the values of social justice. JCTR has a Church Social Teaching (CST) programme, which strives to promote a faith-based approach to justice as it relates to social, economic, political, cultural and spiritual situations of the people.⁴⁰

The CST programme provides a value-based framework within which all activities in the overall operation of JCTR take place.⁴¹ The programme promotes a core set of human values that guide JCTR's unique approach to the thinking and practice of development. These values include human dignity, dignity of work, gender equality and option for the poor. Others are care for the environment, solidarity, especially with the most marginalized categories of people, citizens' participation, rights and responsibilities.⁴² For example, Chiti notes that the church's Social Teaching (CST) is a collection of teachings from the Christian tradition that provides guidance on how the actions of individuals and groups, local and

³⁹ C.E. Curran, *Catholic Social Teaching 1891 - Present: A Historical Theological and Ethical Analysis*, Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2002.

⁴⁰ Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection, Zambia – JCTR: Basic Needs Basket – January 2008, Lusaka: JCTR, 2008; JCTR (Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection) (2008) Satellite Homes Report. Glimpses of Life in Compounds of Lusaka – December 2007 to February 2008, JCTR, Lusaka.

⁴¹ P. Henriot, "What is Development? Promoting the Good of Every Person and of the Whole Person," a Seminar Paper Presentation on *Populorum Progressio*, Peru, 2007.

⁴² A.M. Verhoye, *Unfreezing the Organizational Culture of the Catholic Church: A Case Study of Pope Francis' Organizational Culture Change Initiative Using the Transformational Leadership Theoretical Framework*, PhD, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2015.

national leaders, government and non-governmental actors and others, should contribute to the shaping of just societies, economies, political and legal systems, communities and so on and cites some principles and values which have guided JCTR such as the promotion of human dignity, the right to food, employment, the need to provide just wages and the option for the poor, among others.⁴³

The beginning of the CST programmes can be traced from the founding of JCTR itself. The centre was founded on social justice values, which were promoted in public life through the JCTR Bulletin in the initial stages. Using the CST framework, the JCTR evaluates any economic, political or social policy or programme by asking critical questions such as: Will this programme or policy further the realization of human rights? Will it promote respect for human dignity? Will it advance the respect for workers' rights and result in wider participation of people, especially the 'forgotten', in all spheres of life? The church's social teaching is not only a doctrine; but also a way of life.⁴⁴ The Papal Encyclical *Populorum Progressio* attests to the fact that the Catholic Church has always been concerned with the socio-political welfare of the people,⁴⁵ thus JCTR rides on it.

Apart from the CST Programme, JCTR also has the Debt, Aid and Trade Programme which advocates for debt cancellation and fair trade in order to inspire pro-poor growth. This programme has undergone changes since its inception in 1988 when it was launched as the Jubilee 2000 Campaign for Debt Cancellation at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Lusaka. Jubilee 2000, later called the Jubilee-Zambia Campaign, was established as part of an international movement for the cancellation of poor countries' debts. It was ignited by the country's rate and volume of external loan contraction coupled with ineffective, nontransparent and

⁴³ L. Chiti, "The Basic Needs Basket and the Catholic Social Teaching," A Presentation to the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of Mater et Magistra, 2011, p. 4.

⁴⁴ E. Ojakaminor, *Catholic Social Doctrine*, Nairobi: Paulines, 1996.

⁴⁵ Paul VI, "The Development of Peoples," *Encyclical Letter of Paul VI*, Vatican, 1967.

unbalanced loan contraction processes.⁴⁶ By the end of 2004, Zambia owed the international community in excess of one hundred million United States Dollars in external debt service at the expense of economic and human development programmes.

At the height of the campaign, Jubilee-Zambia established Outreach teams in Ndola, Livingstone, Mongu, Monze and Kasama, covering four provinces. After Zambia reached the Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) completion point and qualified for the Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative in 2005, most of Zambia's debts owed to multilateral agencies were cancelled. With the achievement of several objectives of Jubilee-Zambia, the Project matured into a JCTR Programme, the Debt Programme was now called the Debt, Aid, and Trade (DAT) Programme.⁴⁷ The five outreach programmes were maintained to continue with advocacy, sensitization, and lobbying activities at the local levels.

JCTR also runs the Social Conditions Programme that advocates for improvement in the living conditions of the poor. The concern of the Social Conditions Programme is to fulfill the mission of the JCTR in promoting integral, sustainable, and socially just development, touching on micro-level issues.⁴⁸ The programme is organized around the urban and rural Basic Needs Basket, environmental concerns (Integrity of Creation) and social capital research.

The urban Basic Needs Basket is one of the ways of 'fostering a faith-inspired perspective, and a critical understanding of current issues.' The urban Basic Needs Basket is the 'flagship' of the Social Conditions Programme. In the same vein, the rural basket as the urban Basic Needs Basket is to be seen as a tool of motivation for both government and wider collective action (for example, civil society) in responding to the needs

⁴⁶ Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection, 'A Profile of JCTR-Zambia.' JCTR and International Budget Partnerships, 2011

⁴⁷ K. Lungu, The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflections in Zambia, MA University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2014.

⁴⁸ L. Chiti, "The Basic Needs Basket and the Catholic Social Teaching," A Presentation to the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of *Mater et Magistra*, 2011.

of rural people.⁴⁹ The basket is widely published in the media every month and used by Trade Unions, Parliamentarians in Parliamentary debates, family budgeting, and other Civil Society organizations.

The Social Conditions Programme has the Environmental Concerns and Social Capital Research components. The environmental concerns and social capital research are centred on efforts of promoting ethical responses to environmental challenges through the publication of a booklet titled 'Caring for Our Environment' and social capital studies on topics linked to integral, sustainable and socially just development respectively. The *Caring for Our Environment* publication aims at inspiring individuals and community responses to environmental challenges guided by the Church's Social Teaching and African Tradition.⁵⁰ The social capital studies are also anchored on action oriented research, and designed to influence or change policy in the direction of promoting integral, sustainable and socially just development. Over the years, studies that have been carried out touched on teachers' living conditions in relation to teaching quality, implications of user fees on poor household's ability to send children to school, how far free education is free education given associated indirect costs, social protection and children's rights and access to health care.⁵¹

The Social Conditions Programme has published a number of policy briefs designed to inform decision makers and the general Zambian public about key issues that require urgent and effective responses to meet the needs of integral, sustainable and socially just development. Topics that have been produced include social protection, the systemic evil of Zambia's unaffordable basic needs, casualization of labour, Genetically Modified food (GMOs) and Zambia's hunger situation, set of principles for poverty reduction and Zambia's economic diversification, among others. Henriot observes that the JCTR's critique of the International

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflections, *Integrity of Creation Task Force of JCTR: Caring for our Environment*, Booklet. Lusaka: JCTR, not dated.

⁵¹ L. Chiti, "The Basic Needs Basket and the Catholic Social Teaching," A Presentation to the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace on the Occasion Of the 50th Anniversary of Mater et Magistra, 2011.

Monetary Fund and World Bank proposals for debt relief (such as the HIPC initiative) gets widely circulated nationally and internationally and is taken into account when evaluations of these programmes are made.⁵²

The research, which the JCTR has conducted, has been described as intelligent research. For example, Henriot cites the example of the value of intelligent research on a highly controversial topic that occurred in the on-going debate over the refusal of the Zambian government to allow the importation of GMOs into the country.⁵³ This refusal went on during serious food shortages and in the face of immense pressure by the government of the United States of America. After its own research, in cooperation with others nationally and internationally, the JCTR supported the Zambian government's position in accord with clear CST principles, reliable scientific data and sound economic analysis.

Another programme run by JCTR is the Outreach Programme. According to the Promoting Faith and Justice Report of 2008, JCTR has carried out outreach activities in four provinces in the name of Jubilee-Zambia.⁵⁴ The Debt teams were originally established to help mobilize the populace to participate in the call for Zambia's external debt relief and were running under the Debt Programmes. In a continued bid to ensure efficiency and effectiveness and reflection of all the JCTR activities at the local level, the Outreach Programme has now taken on justice issues from Debt, Aid and Trade, the Church Social Teaching and Social Conditions Programmes.

Over the years, the Outreach Programme has made a tremendous contribution to achieving the vision of JCTR, which is, having a society where faith promotes justice in all spheres of life. Some highpoints of the programme included the mobilization efforts towards debt cancellation; taking social justice concern or campaign to the doorsteps of local

⁵² P. Henriot, "What is Development? Promoting the Good of Every Person and of the Whole Person," a Seminar Paper Presentation on *Populorum Progressio*, Peru, 2007.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflections, Promoting Faith and Justice Report. Lusaka: JCTR, 2008.

communities; facilitating the active participation of the local people, and engaging their leaders on social justice issues. This has been achieved through activities such as the 'Meet Your Member of Parliament Forum.'

The Outreach Programme has continued with its task of ensuring that local communities participate in activities to promote social justice. Currently, the programme pursues various activities such as education and advocacy to pressure for an effective and transparent public finance governance system, the campaign to promote domestic trade policies that influence positively people's productive capacity, especially of the poor.

All these programmes are done in the light of theological reflection. In this regard, JCTR brings to the fore problems of the poor and of nature. However, for JCTR to speak with some authority, theological reflection is cardinal. Theological reflection works out of specific contexts, draws upon lived experiences and aims at practical action.⁵⁵ Theological Reflection is a critical reflection that attempts to understand some event or personal experience within its social system in the light of the Bible and trained thinking.

Seven principles are at the foundation of the Catholic social thought in its efforts to read the "signs of these times."⁵⁶ The principles that guide JCTR in the way it reflects theologically on social ills, and how these influence negatively the society. The above are well captured in the wheels of social justice.

Religion as an Agent for Development through Research

The work of JCTR can be explained as an avenue for development through research. In this regard, it has made some notable contributions. For example, JCTR joined the international Jubilee 2000 Coalition, it hosted what would become Jubilee-Zambia, a national civil society coalition advocating for Zambian debt relief under the IMF and World

⁵⁵ R.L. Kinast, *What are they Saying about Theological Reflection?* New York: Paulist Press, 2000.

⁵⁶ E.P. DeBerri et al, *Catholic Social Teaching: Our Best Kept Secret*, 4th revised and expanded edition, Maryknoll: Orbis, and Washington, DC: Center of Concern, 2003, pp. 18-34.

Bank's Highly Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) initiative. As the leader of Jubilee-Zambia, JCTR began a countrywide campaign to raise awareness of how Zambia's debt was drawing resources away from vital social spending.

In December 2004, activists from Swaziland, Lesotho, Angola, Namibia, and South Africa joined their Zambian counterparts in Lusaka for a massive public demonstration against the austerity measures imposed by multilateral lending institutions.⁵⁷ Because of this worldwide campaign, Zambia's public debt was slashed from US\$ 7.1 billion to US\$ 502 million. Zambian president, the late Dr Mwanawasa, commended the Catholic Church and Jubilee-Zambia for their contribution to the debt cancellation campaign, and in October 2007 JCTR was awarded a Jubilee Global Leadership Award for "excellence in upholding the Jubilee values of eliminating poverty, cancelling debt and demanding justice for everyone, everywhere."⁵⁸

JCTR has continued to advocate for a sound economic environment that promote integral development. For example in the wake of the rising debt stock of the country which in December 2016 increased to US\$ 7.2 billion from US\$ 6.9 billion, the JCTR noted:

The rise in the country's debt stock is unsustainable for the country's economy ... government should engage the citizenry and explain how and why the country's debt stock, as it is unfair that the public is in most instances not informed on when and why new loans are contracted ... government's continued borrowing has become a burden on the society. There is need for government to work towards establishing stringent resource avenues to reduce on borrowing. Dependency on borrowing to sustain the country's economic and development agenda is not sustainable.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection, 'A Profile of JCTR-Zambia.' JCTR and International Budget Partnerships, 2011.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ L. Chiti, "The Basic Needs Basket and the Catholic Social Teaching," A Presentation to the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of *Mater et Magistra*, 2011.

In addition, JCTR has contributed to the development agenda through the Social Conditions Programme and specifically the Basic Needs Basket (BNB). The BNB is based on a monthly survey that compiles the cost of a “basket” of basic food items and commodities considered the bare minimum for an urban family of six to have a decent and healthy standard of living.⁶⁰ Monitors track changes in the prices of these essential goods in 11 urban districts and have recently expanded to include 3 rural areas. JCTR does not seek to challenge the government’s official index; rather, it hopes to raise awareness of how a rapidly rising cost of living can erode private wealth and the value of public support, thereby making it harder for financially insecure Zambians to afford essential goods.⁶¹ Following JCTR’s example, civil society organizations in at least 10 other countries have started to implement grassroots inflation monitoring programmes. In recognition of all the positive social developments resulting from the BNB’s widespread dissemination, JCTR won the 2008 Southern Africa “Civil Society Drivers of Change Award,” which is sponsored by the Mail and Guardian and the Southern Africa Trust.⁶² BNB has had a significant impact on fiscal policy and business integrity in Zambia. Starting in early 2000, JCTR used the BNB to push for a higher threshold for income tax exemptions, a proposal that the Zambia Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) backed. The ZCTU argued that it was unfair to ask struggling families to pay income taxes when they could hardly afford enough to eat. Henriot notes that JCTR presents an example of the practicality and policy relevance in CST through the monthly “Basic Needs Basket” (BNB).⁶³ This BNB provides data that highlights the great gap between what is required to meet the basic needs of a family of six and what employed workers take home as pay. This very specific information is used in policy advocacy campaigns for improved wages, nutritional adequacy

⁶⁰ M. Chibuye, *The Impact of Rising Food Prices on Household Welfare in Zambia*, PhD, University of Sussex, 2015.

⁶¹ S. Mwale, *The JCTR Basic Needs Basket: Appraisal and Proposal for Effective Communication Strategy*. MA, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2007.

⁶² Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection, ‘A Profile of JCTR-Zambia.’ JCTR and International Budget Partnerships, 2011.

⁶³ P.J. Henriot, “A Church in the Modern World of Africa: The Zambian Experience,” In *Journal of Catholic Social Thought*, 3(2), 2006, p. 301-319.

for ARV recipients, agricultural inputs, and attention to gender differentials, and so on.

Chiti captures some of the notable impacts of the BNB such as the revision of the income tax threshold, the pay as you earn (PAYE) tax exemption.⁶⁴ The threshold was raised to K500, 000 in 2007, K600, 000 in 2008, K800, 000 in 2010 and K3, 300 in 2016.⁶⁵ BNB has also been helpful in wage negotiations:

In any given month, at least 3 to 5 trade union officials contact the JCTR to request for the latest BNB, and two big union bodies have for a long time helped disseminate the BNB to their affiliates. The main teachers' union has used the BNB to achieve annual increments of over 15% for government teachers each of the past few years.⁶⁶

In addition, BNB has been used to inform a government commission to review Public Sector workers' wages, reduction in high cost of living and in judicial processes among other ways.⁶⁷ Thus, the programmes taken together have had some impact on influencing change on the Zambian scene, in helping out with policy formulation in government ministries, successfully campaigning for the cancellation of Zambia's external debt and conscientizing Zambians about their rights and other social justice issues.

Other than informing policy, the research findings from JCTR disseminated through different brochures have raised awareness to the different groups including NGOs, church groups, employers, community groups, households, trade unions and the government. These different groups

⁶⁴ L. Chiti, "The Basic Needs Basket and the Catholic Social Teaching," A Presentation to the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of *Mater et Magistra*, 2011.

⁶⁵ Ministry of Finance Ministerial Speech, '2017 Zambia National Budget-Restoring Fiscal Fitness for Sustained Inclusive Growth and Development' Zambia National Assembly, Lusaka, 11.11.2016.

⁶⁶ L. Chiti, "The Basic Needs Basket and the Catholic Social Teaching," A Presentation to the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of *Mater et Magistra*, 2011, p. 6.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

needed the information as they represented the interests of the people. These NGOs, church groups, employers, community groups, households, and trade unions hold the government accountable and provide development assistance to the grassroots in society.⁶⁸

JCTR also provided checks and balances in the socio-political and economic life of Zambians by taking care of a number of social issues such as poverty reduction programmes⁶⁹ and therefore acts as a voice of the voiceless. The various activities run by the JCTR include education, advocacy and research, which are very important to the Zambian community. These highlight the current issues and, in turn, people are able to plan the way forward.

Culturally, JCTR has fostered research and action related to culture. Henriot notes that an important example of research and action touching culture in the Zambian church is the product of the JCTR's Task Force on Inculturation,⁷⁰ a small pamphlet for use in small Christian communities titled, "Traditional Healing: A Pastoral Challenge for the Catholic Church in Zambia."⁷¹ The pamphlet, following the methodology of the pastoral circle, gets communities to recount their personal experiences of traditional healing, analyze why this healing is still very popular, reflect on the faith meaning of this practice, and to respond with good guidelines for approaching healers.

While the work of JCTR reflects some success stories, the developmental agenda through research has attracted some criticism. For example, some respondents from the Evangelical Fellowship of Zambia (EFZ) perceived

⁶⁸ Ibid; S. Mwale, *The JCTR Basic Needs Basket: Appraisal and Proposal for Effective Communication Strategy*, MA, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2007.

⁶⁹ M. Chibuye, *Interrogating Urban Poverty Lines: The Case of Zambia*. London: International Institute for Environment and Development-IIED, 2011.

⁷⁰ P.J. Henriot, "A Church in the Modern World of Africa: The Zambian Experience," *Journal of Catholic Social Thought*, 3(2), 2006:301-319.

⁷¹ "Traditional Healing: A Pastoral Challenge for the Catholic Church in Zambia," 2004.

JCTR as a political organization.⁷² It was deemed more political than a religious voice as they further explained that they regarded JCTR as some kind of NGO that attached itself to political issues more than to spiritual matters. These perceptions reflect the tendency to separate religion from other spheres of life, which are problematized by ter Haar.⁷³

Accounting for Religion as an Agent for Development through Research

The contributions of JCTR to the developmental agenda through research can be explained in different ways. Firstly, the role of the church in development has been largely framed by the Catholic social teachings.⁷⁴ Henriot observed that it is certainly true that key to the influence of the Catholic church has been the guidance provided by the church's social teaching, in offering both clarification of issues and motivation for responding to those issues.⁷⁵ This social teaching is found both in official documents (many of them ecumenically produced as reflected in Komakoma⁷⁶ and in actions undertaken by churches and Small Christian Communities (SCCs) and by significant organizations such as the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace, and the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection.

In this way, the Catholic social teaching, which has framed the work of JCTR, stands out as a religious resource (what people believe in) that has been tapped in the developmental agenda. Henriot noted that JCTR has

⁷² K. Lungu, *The Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflections in Zambia*. MA, University of Zambia, Lusaka, 2014.

⁷³ Gerrie ter Haar, "Religion: Source of Conflict or Resource for Peace?" in Gerrie ter Haar and James J. Busuttil (eds), *Bridge or Barrier: Religion, Violence and Visions for Peace*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005.

⁷⁴ For a comprehensive presentation see: Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, Paulines Africa, 2004.

⁷⁵ P.J. Henriot, "A Church in the Modern World of Africa: The Zambian Experience," *Journal of Catholic Social Thought*, 3(2), 2006:301-319.

⁷⁶ J. Komakoma, *The Social Teaching of the Catholic Bishops and Other Christian Leaders in Zambia: Major Pastoral Letters and Statements 1953-2001*, Ndola: Mission Press, 2003.

adopted a 'value-oriented' engagement with public policy, on issues such as poverty eradication, employment generation, debt contraction, trade agreements, environmental guidelines, and HIV and AIDS.⁷⁷ As such, JCTR undertakes socio- economic analysis and a critical evaluation of these issues out of the perspectives of Catholic social teaching and recommends appropriate policy steps.⁷⁸ This demonstrates what Gerrie ter Haar calls the religious resources as the JCTR has used her religious capital to conduct research that has informed policies and created public awareness on social justice.

The church through JCTR has also contributed to the development agenda through her religious practices, which have been manifested in the programmes of the centre. The religious practices have been demonstrated in the work of the centre on social justice for integral development. Programmes such as Church Social Teaching, Debt, Aid and Trade, Social Conditions, and Outreach are all practices that are an expression of the beliefs of the church.

In addition, the church has shaped the development agenda through what Gerrie ter Haar calls religious organization.⁷⁹ JCTR has spearheaded integral development as it functions as an arm of the church. The religious or spiritual experiences have also had their influence on how the church through JCTR has contributed to development. For example, Henriot has observed that the Catholic Church in Zambia has over the years played a very significant role in the development of the country through direct service institutions.⁸⁰ These are the religious life of individuals and the community. The Catholic Commission for Justice Development and

⁷⁷ L. Chiti, "The Basic Needs Basket and the Catholic Social Teaching," A Presentation to the Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace on the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of *Mater et Magistra*, 2011.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Gerrie ter Haar, "Religion: Source of Conflict or Resource for Peace?" in Gerrie ter Haar and James J. Busuttil (eds), *Bridge or Barrier: Religion, Violence and Visions for Peace*, Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2005.

⁸⁰ P. Henriot, "What is Development? Promoting the Good of every Person and of the Whole Person," a Seminar Paper Presentation on *Populorum Progressio*, Peru, 2007.

Peace recounts how the concept of Development Education Programme in the 1970s and 1980s, with its emphasis on participation of the local people in the initial identification of problems, the eventual design of solutions, as well as working on projects together, through self-management and evaluation had positive consequence of empowerment that enabled people to learn skills that could be utilized in other spheres of life.⁸¹ This approach has over time enabled the church to play a defining role in the church in Zambia through the “option for the poor” which meant a preferential emphasis on the poorer sector of the population and the commitment to justice and peace. Thus, with time and experience, the church has transformed in her social intervention from being associated with the early pastoral work of the Church in Zambia (giving service) to the integral development model, which enabled the church to become the mirror of the nation,⁸² midwife of multi-party democracy,⁸³ and the voice of the voiceless.⁸⁴

Jarosz also attests to the transforming experience of the church.⁸⁵ He notes that in the light of the careful investigation of the history of Catholic social teaching, the picture of the Church, which emerges from the subsequent official documents and studies, has become more and more dynamic. For example, within the social and cultural dimensions, this

⁸¹ The Catholic Commission for Justice Development and Peace, 2004.

⁸² Kenneth Kaunda frequently referred to the Church as the “mirror of the nation” (CCJP, 2004).

⁸³ The active role that the Church played in the transition to plural politics in 1991 made President Chiluba refer to the Churches as the “midwife of multi-party democracy” (CCJP, 2004).

⁸⁴ In the recent years, the Church has led the way in economic justice advocacy through CCJP’s Economic Justice Programme (EJP) and the JCTR such as Budget Monitoring, the Debt Campaign through Jubilee 2000, the Family Food Basket, and economic forums have been, on the positive side, been recognized and appreciated by government. The state now makes deliberate efforts to involve the Church in national programmes such as poverty reduction, food security, and other special committees that discuss the welfare of the nation (CCJP, 2004).

⁸⁵ T. Jarosz, “The Church as an Agent for Economic Development,” *Africa Tomorrow*, 17(1): 2015.

dynamism expresses itself in the numerous interactions connecting the various formal institutions and informal communities, formed on the pattern of a network to which there can easily be added further mesh in order to extend it. Although the substantial task of the Church is to realize her purely religious purposes, which of course are necessarily related to those of a social and cultural nature, lately these have been emerging and flowing from those who were subjected to them.⁸⁶ Most importantly, JCTR has been a change agent through its mission and activities, which seek to foster integral development.

Conclusion

The chapter sought to reflect on how the church has been involved in the developmental agenda of Zambia with reference to JCTR and the Catholic Church. The chapter showed how JCTR through knowledge generation had contributed to the developmental agenda through lobbying, advocacy, reflections and publication of information for development such as the food basket, and political and socio-economic commentaries. The dissemination was also done through publications, conferences, and media presentations. JCTR has used its religious resources to foster pro-poor projects and through its programmes, it has championed developmental agendas. Because of its strong religious background stemming from the Church's social teaching, JCTR was an example of the interconnectedness of religion and development in contemporary times.

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 58.

Chapter 27: Rewriting the Sacred Script: Johanne Marange Apostolic Church (JMAC) and Development in Zimbabwe

Justine Goba and Nisbert T. Taringa

Introduction

This chapter explores the relationship between the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church (JMAC) and development in Zimbabwe, in particular in the health and education sectors. Debates on the relationship between African Initiated Churches and development, particularly the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church (JMAC) in Zimbabwe, are at best split. On the one hand, there is a view that reckons JMAC as a genuine obstacle to development. On the other hand, there is an observation that JMAC is beginning to support development. Recently in Zimbabwe JMAC has built and is running one of the best high schools in rural Marange in Zimbabwe. The aim of this study is to qualitatively explore how JMAC is re-writing its sacred script in relation to a seemingly emerging paradigm shift regarding participation in the health and education sectors. The central question that we intend to answer in this chapter is: what are the factors influencing JMAC's paradigm shift regarding participation in the health and education sectors? We contend that the JMAC can no longer be regarded as part of the problem regarding development without a qualification on its steps to being part of the solution through re-writing its sacred script on health and education.

The Conflict between JMAC and Development

The areas that Johanne Marange Apostolic Church is mostly in conflict with development in Zimbabwe are issues to do with health and education and especially pertaining to children and women. We begin by considering issues to do with health.

Child Health

The JMAC has very conservative members who do not want to move from their traditional beliefs and practices. They are a people who would prefer to die than to leave their faith and get hospital treatment. Some women would rather lose all their children than have them immunized. According to one article, some Johanne Marange members see their children as bricks (for bricks can be easily replaced).¹ However, there are some positive signs that some members of the JMAC invite health personnel to come privately to their locations where senior members of the church would not see them and have their children immunized. A lady teacher who asked for anonymity because of fear of victimization when we interviewed her supported this. This teacher informed us that she befriended quite a number of the JMAC women who sometimes ask her to go to a local clinic to get medicine for the treatment of different ailments for their children and administer them at her house at St. Noah Secondary School in Mafarikwa area. The idea that this is done in private actually proves that the church is in conflict with development.

The same article quoted above, made it clear that premature births are also a thorn in the flesh.² In one incident, a father rushed to a local clinic in Mafarikwa to get cotton wool to wrap the child and a cardboard box to place the child in, a common method for managing such cases among the JMAC members. Yet, he still lost the child, a nurse who used to work in the area said on condition of anonymity.³ According to Richard Nyamhindi the Millennium Development Goals progress report released recently noted that the apostolic sects in the country have been a major contributor to the high rate of maternal mortality and have hampered efforts to reduce maternal mortality by 2015.⁴ In the JMAC pregnant women are still not allowed to visit health institutions and are made to deliver their babies at home, which often leads to maternal deaths due to complications. Officially, the JMAC currently prohibits immunization of

¹ <http://relzim.org/major-religions-zimbabwe>, [11.2.2017].

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Richard Nyamhindi, www.unicef.org/esaro/index.html, [11.2.2017].

babies, leading to a great deal for child mortality. This is a clear sign of antagonism between the JMAC and development. A critical analysis of this situation would show that the level of education of the mother has a bearing to infant and child mortality.

When we asked young women of the JMAC on how they help their newly born babies to prevent them from succumbing to diseases that afflict children other than taking them to prophets or healers, they all said they were taught to give them coke which they believe would improve their children's health.⁵ This in itself shows that the women do not believe in prayer alone when it comes to the health of their children and it explains why they would privately visit the health professionals for assistance.

A nurse at a Zvipiripiri Clinic in Mafarikwa area stated that no other illness can account for the huge number of deaths among infants and children under five as childhood illnesses that are not professionally managed. This nurse said she would sometimes privately offer antenatal services to some women who would visit her at home, especially early in the morning before opening hours for fear of being detected. To also avoid being abused by their husbands, they would leave home under the guise of bringing a neighbour some grain to feed the chickens.⁶ However, some progress has been made because the JMAC now allows children to be immunized,⁷ but there is an element of guilt among parents who seek even that basic medical care. After immunization the parents take the children back into the shrine and pray for forgiveness on behalf of the children, because they consider seeking medical treatment a sin. If the parents are still going to confess then we can still argue that the church is in conflict with development until a time when people do not feel guilty when they access medicine. This is common among JMAC members because the Church uses strict disciplinary measures, including

⁵ Int. Michael Marova, 22.2.2017.

⁶ <http://relzim.org/major-religions-zimbabwe>, [11.2.2017].

⁷ T. Kanengoni "Apostolic Churches that Refuse Medicine in Zimbabwe Slowly Reconsider Beliefs," in *Global Press Journal*, Zimbabwe, 2017.

public shaming, to control those who veer from the approved practices of prayer and healing rituals.

On the issue of medical treatment, an elderly member of the JMAC, John Rupimo said:

Kana vanhu vakaenda havo kunorapwa ini ndinoramba ndichienda kuvaporofita nokuti kana warapwa nemuporofita unopora zveshuwa, asi ukaenda kuchipatara unongonyaradza marwadzo chete asi chirwere chisara chiri mukati.⁸ (*Even if people choose to go to the clinic, I will continue going to the prophets because when healed by a prophet you will be healed permanently, but the clinic will give you pain killers leaving the problem in you.*)

While others have embraced this idea of medical treatment, Rupimo still favours spiritual healing. He pointed out that he has faith in what was given to Johanne Marange, the founder of their church. For him, medical treatment is not a permanent solution to illness, but it temporarily suppresses the pain while prayer heals the illness. When we asked about the high mortality rate of young children, he became emotional saying,

“Imi vana vari kungofa wani muzvipatara vechipositori ndovasingafaniri kufa here?” (Children are also dying in hospitals, what’s so special about the deaths of children in the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church?)

The Herald of 14 June 2006 in the article, “Apostolic Sect Joins Fight Against Measles” stated that the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church has made a major shift in quitting a more than five decade old belief by joining the nation in the ongoing expanded programme on the fight against measles and Vitamin A deficiency for children between the ages of six months to 59 months.⁹ This was making reference to the church leaders’ acceptance to have the young children immunized for measles at the Passover gathering at Mafarikwa. In the same article, Irene Mwedziwendira of Nyahukwe Village in Makoni District and a member of the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church, said the church had noted that

⁸ Int. John Rupimo, 10.2.2017.

⁹ *The Herald*, 14th June 2006, www.herald.co.zw, [15.2.2017].

immunization of children against the seven killer diseases was important to the health and welfare of the children. This showed that the members of the church were in agreement with the leaders of the church on their decision to have the children immunized. However, the element of guilt cannot be removed because even if they are in agreement the people will be seen coming for cleansing in the form of '*kuiswa maoko pamusoro*' (laying of hands on one's head) by the prophets.

Other Diseases

In the article, "Measles kill 30 and church refuses treatment," it is stated that measles wreaked havoc in the Nyazura Nzvimbe area, killing at least 30 people, mostly vulnerable children and women members of Johanne Marange Apostolic Church, who were consolidating their resistance to vital life-saving interventions.¹⁰ The majority of the victims were aged between 1-10 years, while other cases ranging between 13-40 years old have been reported. At least 29 patients were detained at a satellite clinic set up at Nzvimbe Primary School. The clinic was brought to assist people in this area because there is no clinic in that area. I was informed that Nyambezi Clinic, which is nearest to that area, is over 20 km away. The village head, Mr. V Matide, confirmed in an interview that the outbreak happened sometime in 2010 but he was not sure of the actual time of the year.¹¹ This means that while we have heard that the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church embraced the idea of having children immunized, it was not holistic but situational.

While there was a satellite clinic in Nzvimbe to combat the spread of measles in the area, there were challenges, which hindered the progress of the programme. According to Internet sources, religious and cultural beliefs, coupled with mobility bottlenecks, have been cited as major challenges militating against emergency health interventions to combat the spread of the viral disease.¹² When *The News* crew toured the measles

¹⁰ www.zimgossip.com/?p=1080, [11.2.2017].

¹¹ Int. Victor Matide, 22.4.2017.

¹² "Measles kill 30 and Church Refuses Treatment," www.zimgossip.com/?p=1080 [11.2.2017].

hotspot of Nzvimbe that time, there were loud calls from villagers for the enforcement of the *Public Health Act* to ensure apostolic sect members' compliance with measles treatment. This, they said, was the only way the disease could be halted or its negative impact reduced in the poverty-hit and cramped area. The spread of the disease was accelerating in Villages 9, 4, 3, and 12 — where health sources said mortality statistics could be much higher than projected, as church members could be dying at home with fast-track burials. The report from the Internet made me to visit the area¹³ and I interviewed a few people about the measles outbreak. I learnt that the area is a resettlement area created by the government between 1995 and 1998.

It was reported that the village head, Mr. Matide, had set up a dragnet squad to sniff out at least 10 critically ill apostolic members, whose whereabouts were unknown after having been whisked away to secluded areas where they were believed to be getting holy water and prayers. He said the dragnet squad rescued five children from Makoni area and four from the Marenga family — aged between 1-13 years, who were then detained at the satellite clinic. As the village head, he argued, “We have a responsibility to save lives; we could not just sit and watch them violating the rights of children and women. It is a pity that such high magnitude of ignorance is still with us 30 years after independence.” The words of the village head showed that he had to use force to have the apostolic members treated using modern medicine against their wish. When I interviewed the same village head, he confirmed that he talked to the news crew and also confirmed that of the 10 members who were ill they managed to get only 9.

According to a report on the internet, one apostolic member, Ms Sophia Marenga, said religious adherence was not worth anyone's death, because if the parents die, the children become unnecessarily orphaned. She said:

We acted the way we did out of ignorance, but we have since been equipped with the necessary information and now know that holy water does not treat measles. When I came here, I was not sure if all my four

¹³ Ibid.

children would make it, but they are responding well to treatment. I want to urge my fellow church members to stop running away with their sick members to the hills to avoid detection by mobile health teams; they are here to save life, and not to adulterate our religious beliefs.”¹⁴

This serves to show that while some members of the Apostolic Church are embracing the use of modern scientific medicine there are others who are choosing to remain traditional because for them their old doctrine is the best thing to follow.

We were fortunate to meet one of Ms Marenga’s children, Eriya Marenga who survived the measles attack when he was 11 years old. When we asked him if he was comfortable with taking modern medicine he said, “With what I experienced in 2010 I cannot afford to miss medical treatment when I get sick, especially with malaria. If the church is still allowing us to come back and receive prayers of cleansing then I will remain a member of the church.”¹⁵

Malaria is another disease, which causes death if it is not treated in time. According to Mr. M. Marova of Mafararikwa village, “malaria is frightening such that when members of my family are attacked by this dreadful disease I personally rush to a friend of mine who works as a nurse at Bakorenhema clinic in Mutimba village who will give me courses of malaria enough for about six people.”¹⁶ The clinic is about 20 km from his homestead. He told us that he chose to go to this clinic, which is very far away from his home because he would not want people to know that he is relating to medical staff. While there is a positive change, one can still argue that there is conflict between JMAC and development because the change is not that official. If one is caught getting modern treatment, they will be in a serious punishment for such an act.

There are some members who are so faithful to their beliefs such that they would accept to lose all they have in the name of their church doctrine. A very good example is the late Arnold Muzaruwetu of Chitora

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Int. Eriya Malenga (not real name), 22.4.2017.

¹⁶ Int. Michael Marova, 22.2.2017.

village, which is situated some 55 km from Mutare urban along Masvingo road. According to an Internet article,¹⁷ of the 101 children Muzaruwetu fathered, only 25 survive him. 76 died and most of them even before their 5th birthday. Muzaruwetu died in April of 2012, leaving behind 14 wives, one of whom stands childless today after 10 deaths. He lived less than a kilometre from a local clinic to which he constantly made donations. A presiding officer at Gutaurare community court, some 50 km outside of Mutare, also worked less than 50 m from the health centre that his Johanne Marange Apostolic Church demanded he should not have any ties with. Faithful even to death, he died at a prophet's healing shrine of suspected complicated malaria.

The question that must be answered by this research is, "What has caused this change from being faithful members of the JMAC, to a kind of lifestyle with a lot of hide and seek games?"

The Medical Institutions (Chitsidzo)

The Johanne Marange Apostolic Church has its own form of medical institutions. Godknows Chabata, a Mutare Teachers' College finalist student, pointed out that when a person gets sick, he or she is taken to a healing prophet of their choice, or the prophets direct them to a particular healer.¹⁸ The healing places are different, depending on the patient's state of sickness. The healing prophets do their work either at their homestead or at a healing shrine away from home. When a patient needs seclusion, he or she will be taken to the healing shrine and receive treatment there. The system is similar to what we have in the modern medical hospitals, an Intensive Care Unit (ICU) where serious cases are managed and taken care of.

B. Chiketo, in his article, "Johanne Marange Sect's Bizarre Rituals," available on internet gave a detailed description of a shrine and what

¹⁷ "Some Johanne Marange Members See their Children as Bricks," <http://rel-zim.org/major-religions-zimbabwe>, [11.2.2017].

¹⁸ Int. Godknows Chabata, 10.5.2017.

happens at that shrine in chief Zimunya's area.¹⁹ In relation to his calling, the healing prophet, Thomas Mashava, stated that he received a mad-man's tag from his community. He said, "Many people who knew me before this calling actually think I am mentally disturbed, but my patients bear a different testimony." This was said from his shrine near the confluence of Mupudzi and Odzi rivers in Dzingirai Village, some 40 km southwest of Mutare. The researchers had an opportunity of visiting the prophet's shrine on 20 April 2017. We observed that he has transformed his homestead into a hospital with a wide range of patients admitted into the small huts dotted around the yard. We also observed that the patients are not allowed to meet visitors because soon after our arrival all the patients disappeared into their different huts.

The healer prophet made it clear that he did not learn the profession, but works under the instruction of God. Prophet Mashava said he treats malaria by first forcing his patients to drink 5 litres of holy water in one sitting, an exercise that would induce vomiting, thereby cleaning the upper digestive system. After this, he will then insert a pipe through the anus and pour more water to clean the lower digestive system. After pouring a certain amount of water, the patient would instantly pop, cleaning the whole digestive system.²⁰ The revered prophet also said, the method of injecting water through the anus was also his God inspired remedy to constipation as he has witnessed it clearing waste as hard as that of a donkey.

In the interview we had with Prophet Mashava he had this to say, "I have had patients from as far as Gokwe, Bulawayo, Harare and many other places, which would mean my patients come from the whole of Zimbabwe."²¹ This is a clear sign to show that the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church to date is still holding its faith on the statutes of their tradition, which commands them to rely on prayers and holy water only for their health.

¹⁹ B. Chiketo, www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2014/01/02/johanne-marange-sect-s-bizarre-rituals [2.11.2017].

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Int. Prophet Mashava, 20.4.2017

Besides being a shrine for the sick, Prophet Mashava's institution is also the "anointed" maternity facility for the white-garment apostolic church.²² This shows that the apostolic healers deal with any form human problem, which is brought to their attention.

The Johanne Marange Apostolic Church and Education

There are two main issues, which affect the education of JMAC children; these are polygamous families and child marriages. The two have a bearing on the education of children in the JMAC.

Polygamous Marriages

According to W. Chikwature, and V. Oyedelein in their article, "Polygamy and Academic Achievement: A Case of Johanne Marange Apostolic Sect," polygamy in Zimbabwe has both positive and negative impacts on the education of the children.²³ Culturally, polygamy is viewed as a reproductive strategy by which men maximize the number of their children but minimize their investments in each child. This means that fathers do very little to support their children but expect more from them economically, because they believe that children are a cheap source of labour in the family.

According to Jeremiah Bumhira of Mafararikwa village, a polygamous family is not difficult to manage because each woman with her children is expected to follow the traditional norms of the church, failure of which they will be rejected or divorced.²⁴ With such conditions in the church, women are forced to keep their families intact even if they are facing problems. As a result, the women face the burden to pay school fees.

The frequent marital conflict and distress in a polygamous family can cause emotional harm to children due to tension, unequal treatment by

²² B. Chiketo, www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2014/01/02/johanne-marange-sect-s-bizarre-rituals [2.11.2017].

²³ W. Chikwature and V. Oyedele, "Polygamy and Academic Achievement: A Case of Johanne Marange Apostolic Sect," www.idpublications.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/Full-Paperpdf [12.2.2017].

²⁴ Int. Jeremiah Bumhira, 20.4.2017.

the polygamous father and jealousy among the wives and even among the children.²⁵ Usually, the wives are not united because each one would be lobbying for high favours from the husband which, in turn, leads to clashes and those clashes would go on to affect the children, resulting in disturbances to their education. When responding to the question, “is it not a burden to manage a family with more than one wife?” Mr. Bumhira, who is unemployed and has 6 wives and 22 children, said that each wife had the responsibility to work for her children; he assists by giving supplements when he gets something. This scenario is a clear picture showing that the children cannot expect anything for their education from their father. Thus, they end up quitting school at an early stage so as to assist their mothers to work for food and supporting the other siblings.

Children from polygamous families have slightly lower levels of cohesion than children of monogamous families, and these children are also more likely to display psychopathological symptoms and socialization problems.²⁶ The cited challenges would lead the children to exclude themselves from others, which would lead to poor performance in school. Such a situation would often lead to withdrawal from school. Thus, it would be fair to say polygamous families affect the education of the JMAC children. Since most of their families are polygamous it, therefore, follows that their children are not highly educated following the cited problems.

Child Marriages

Child marriage is one other factor, which impacts on education in the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church. Too early marriages are a common phenomenon in Zimbabwe, especially among the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church. According to Maureen Sibanda, the Senator for Manicaland province, Chief Chiduku, who is a member of the JMAC, was quoted as having said that child marriages are not a problem at all. He

²⁵ S. Elbedour, W.M. Bart, and J.M. Henker, “Scholastic Achievement and Family Structure: Bedouin-Arab Adolescents from Monogamous and Polygamous Families in Israel.” in *The Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 140, no. 4, 2000, pp. 503-514.

²⁶ Ibid.

said this while addressing a Parliamentary Portfolio committee meeting.²⁷ This was echoed also by 'Mr M Chirovero, who is a member of the JMAC, when he said this is not only a church tradition because the church actually borrowed it from Shona culture.²⁸ The traditional culture allowed young girls to be married following a sister's death, leaving young children in the husband's family. This was an accepted tradition that the parents of the deceased wife would give a new mother to the children (*chimutsa mapfiwa*) to raise the children of her sister. The question which arises is whether the culture of child marriages is something society or church must uphold, considering the problems associated with the practice for the girl child as well as human rights standards that prohibit marriage under the age of 18. "Should not tradition evolve and remove all the aspects that are harmful to children and the girl child in particular?"²⁹

The culture of child marriage is in conflict with modernization and development in society as it seriously affects the girl child's opportunities in the future because of lack of education.³⁰ This is factual because if any girl child is married before the age of 16 it means that the girl is married before attaining O' Level education. Without this basic education, such children will be exposed to manipulation by their environment, which is their husbands in particular and the church in general.

In such a scenario, we do not expect married women to question some of the church practices and beliefs because the confidence and critical mind they are supposed to obtain from education will not be there.

From the interviews and questionnaires administered to the general members of the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church I noted that many members of the church still follow faithfully the beliefs of the church while a few are courageous enough to challenge some of these practices.

²⁷ Maureen Sibanda, "Married too soon: Child Marriage in Zimbabwe," in The Research and Advocacy Unit," 2011.

²⁸ Int. Mark Chirovero, 21.04.17.

²⁹ Maureen Sibanda, "Married too soon: Child Marriage in Zimbabwe," in The Research and Advocacy Unit," 2011.

³⁰ Ibid.

One church elder from Marange area who did not want his name to be published told me of an incident which he said happened in Chivhu to her sister who is now widowed and is staying with her two granddaughters. He quoted her as an example of a courageous woman because she refused to let her granddaughters get married to an old man who had 8 wives then, and many children some of whom were older than her two granddaughters. The man said the woman's argument was that she had just started to teach them household chores and she felt they were not ready for marriage and she withdrew them from going to church. This is said to have happened in 2012 or 2013 when the girls were 12 and 14 years old. The old woman lost friends and was threatened by male leaders of the church because of her move, but she never gave in. She also stood her ground and maintained her membership in the Apostolic Church but kept her granddaughters at home.

The negative attitude that the old woman received from the church leaders is the one which deters women from standing up for the defense of their young girls when they are targeted for marriage by church elders.

One young man who is a student teacher at Mutare Teachers' college said that people talk negatively about Johanne Marange Apostolic Church and child marriages out of ignorance because the church policy is that parents can make marriage arrangements to young girls but the actual marriage will take place when the girl reaches the legal age of marriage. However, there are some people who fast track the process following an agreement between the two families and that is not church policy.³¹ In Zimbabwe, a girl can only be married officially at the age of 16 which is also a problem because the 2002 Children's Act of Zimbabwe states that a minor is "a person under the age of eighteen years." and a young person is "a person who has attained the age of sixteen years but has not attained the age of eighteen years.

Whilst it looks like the law is in place to protect the girl child from early marriages in Zimbabwe, the problem is in the Customary Marriages Act, which does not provide a minimum marriageable age and has therefore been abused. There has been a lot of noise from the women's movements

³¹ Int. Samson Rungwe, 10.5.2017.

in Zimbabwe for the government to harmonize the marriage laws in the country in order to rectify the discrepancies. However, governments are often unable to enforce existing laws, or rectify discrepancies between national laws on marriage age and entrenched customary and religious laws. This is coming in because of the “official tolerance of cultural, societal and customary norms that shape and govern the institution of marriage and family life.”³²

This discrepancy in the national law is the actual problem we have in Zimbabwe and it cannot be blamed on the JMAC, because child marriages are not common in the JMAC only, but they also happen outside the church. If this trend is not changed then education in the JMAC will be for a few while the rest will only have it just to allow them to read and write.

This section has looked at the state of the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church in the independent Zimbabwe regarding its participation in health and education development. The overall picture was that there are changes on some of the basic practices and beliefs, which were the basis of the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church at its inception. The next section is going to examine the current status of the church and possible causes of the paradigm shift in the health and education development sectors.

The JMAC and Health

The Immunization of Children

The people interviewed on this issue were not very sure of the time when the government started sending health teams to Mafarikwa shrine to administer the immunization programme. However, they were all in agreement that when that started, the High Priest, Noah Taguta, gave them permission to have the children immunized. According to the High Priest,

³² Maureen Sibanda, "Married too soon: Child Marriage in Zimbabwe," in The Research and Advocacy Unit," 2011.

*“Zvakanyorwa mumagwaro kuti hutungamiri hwese pasi pano hwakaiswa naMwari.”*³³ (The church acknowledges the authority of the government and traditional leaders as instructed by the Bible in Romans Chapter 13 where Paul made it clear that all powers here on earth are from God).

These words from the High Priest acknowledged that the JMAC takes pride in obeying the rulers and all traditional leaders.³⁴ It is in this scenario that if the government demands that the children be immunized during the church’s gatherings the High Priest will have an opportunity to declare that children be immunized.

Godknows Chabata confirmed that, *“Mukana wakadai unoonekwa chete panguva ye paseka apo Mutumwa anopa mvumo kuvanhu kuti vabaise vana vavo”*³⁵ (Such opportunities arise during their gatherings at Mafarikwe and children are immunized). Chabata went on to say, *“Vanhu vanofunga zvakasiyana asi chokwadi ngechekuti Mutumwa anotaura zvaapihwa naMweya hapana munhu ari pasi pezuva anotuma Mutumwa kutaura mazwi ake”*³⁶ (People may interpret this differently but the truth is that the High Priest’s decisions are always guided by the Holy Spirit and when he commands something no one has the power to do otherwise).

After the immunization the children are cleansed before they get back to the shrine. However, there seem to be different opinions to this because some members of the church see that as government forcing their leaders to accept something, which is a violation to their sacred script. Some went on to argue that even if the High Priest wanted to save children by having them vaccinated, he may be powerless to change the holy tenant of this faith that was set by the almighty God through the great prophet

³³ Int. High Priest, Noah Taguta 27.12.2016.

³⁴ Johanne Marange, "Members See their Children as Bricks," <http://relzim.org/major-religions-zimbabwe>, [11.2.2017].

³⁵ Int. Godknows Chabata, 10.5.2017.

³⁶ Ibid.

Johanne Marange (through the document, *Humboo hutsva hweVapositori*).

An analysis of the above presentations seems to suggest that the move to immunize children is likely to have been necessitated by three different factors. The High Priest himself could have influenced the change as an individual because people believe that whatever he says is led by the Holy Spirit, he is not questioned when he utters a statement. All his followers take his words as authentic from God himself. There is a very high possibility that what he gave to the people was not from God but from his own mind because of the kind of pressure he was experiencing as a leader of the Church.

On another note, some people think that the Holy Spirit brought in the change of this kind, as the Holy Spirit always guides the decisions of the High Priest.³⁷ Whenever he addresses the church, he is giving the words of God. Thus, when he declares that children be immunized, he will actually be the mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit. This is what the members of the Apostolic Church believe.

Lastly, the change might be influenced by the government as it is believed that it actually forced the leaders to accept the move in line with the command of the human rights charter which states that children have a right to health. Some outsiders are of the opinion that the President of Zimbabwe is using the High Priest to effect change in the church by giving him land as an individual, for example, it is said that he was given the dairy farm in Chipinge which forced him to be indebted to the President.

The JMAC and the Community

From the interviews and questionnaires administered during the research on questions related to the reaction of the community why the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church members do not react positively to the health calls when there is an outbreak of diseases, the research found out that some communities inform the health teams where there are sick people, leading to them being treated. In some cases, the community reports to

³⁷ Ibid.

the police and the traditional leaders in the community, fearing that the disease will not be eliminated completely if some members of the community are not taking heed of the Ministry of Health's call to have all people treated.

The members of the JMAC insisted that when they have such problems, the sick people are taken to a place called "*Chitsidzo*" which is a place or a prophetic shrine or homestead where all kinds of ailments are dealt with under the administration of a healing prophet. Such places are found in all villages and members choose to go to any shrine as long as resources to go there are available.

The name "*Chitsidzo*" emanated from the idea that all members, before they are baptized into the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church commit themselves to the belief that they will not seek modern medical assistance when they get sick, but "the community reacts negatively to us because we sometimes lose a lot of people from outbreaks of malaria and measles which are the worst diseases we seem to be failing to cure in our healing places using holy water and prayers."³⁸ In some cases, they lock up their sick members in houses and deny that they have sick people in their homesteads. Measles was also confirmed as a difficult disease to cure by prophet Mashava who also operates a healing shrine in Chief Zimunya's area in Dzingirai village.³⁹

The reaction of the community can be shown by what we have in the report, "Measles Kill 30 and Church Refuses Treatment" when measles caused havoc in Nzvimbe area of Nyazura resettlement area. The report states that:

Johanne Marange Apostolic Church members are a threat to their neighbours, who blasted them for ignorantly "harbouring and causing the spreading of the dangerous measles disease. From the time I was born in 1929, I have not seen such a disaster. These people should be arrested because of resisting treatment and putting the health of our innocent children in danger. These apostles are a danger to our community because they are the conductors through which this dangerous measles

³⁸ Int. Maxwell Murombo, 20.4.2017.

³⁹ Ibid.

disease is spreading. What is most disturbing is that many of the victims are children and women; yet we all know that denying them treatment is a violation of their fundamental rights and an unpardonable transgression.⁴⁰

With such kind of thinking in the people of the community, some of the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church members had no option except to give in, especially those who had no resources to take their relatives far from the infected area.

The influence of the community also extends to the village heads who are influential in all activities taking place in their villages. In the same report on measles, it is said that the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church is widely seen in the area as a deceptive and secretive community that does not go public about its issues. Village head Mr Chokore Matide said after seeing that they were dealing with a difficult community that was secretive about its status, he set up a committee to work closely with the health officials deployed in the area to take by force all sick members of the church. In his own words he said,

All other churches, except *Mapositori ekwa Johanne Marange* are co-operative. *Vapositori* are dying in large numbers and this negatively impacts on the whole community. I want to appeal to them to seek treatment and those who refuse may be punished as it puts the lives of mostly their children, on the wire.”⁴¹

Along the same lines we have also an influential village head Baiso Dzingirai of Dzingirai village who has been reported to have said the practice of child marriages is now a thing of the past in his area since he made an announcement to ban the practice in line with the country's laws.⁴²

⁴⁰ "Measles Kill 30 and Church Refuses Treatment," www.zimgossip.com/?=1080, [11.2.2017].

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² B. Chiketo, www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2014/01/02/johanne-marange-sect-s-bizarre-rituals, [2.11.2017].

In the same article on the question of young girls who come to “*Chitsidzo*” to deliver, prophet Mashava said they would advise them to sit in warm water every day to relax their muscles, thus eliminating any risk of obstructed labour. Mashava said they will be acting under God’s instructions and so far, they have not had any maternal mortality incident for the past 18 years since they started in 1999.

This section seems to suggest that the community, because of the pressure it exerted on the JMAC members, influenced some of the changes introduced in the JMAC. It is after such pressure that some of them realized that they lost some of their loved ones only because they had not turned to modern medicines. We can safely conclude that because of what is happening in these communities, some form of dialogue between the JMAC and development is taking place since the stance of the church is changing for the better.

Another cause of changes is a result of the church’s respect for leaders as instructed by scriptures – Romans 13. This meant that when leaders give instructions the church members would be left with no option except to do as the leaders say.

The JMAC and Education Today

One can argue that education has affected the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church across the board, meaning in all aspects of the church. In this section we are going to look at how education has influenced a dialogue in the JMAC in relation to the original church beliefs and practices.

Although there is negative publicity of the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church, it is important to note that there are quite a good number of its members who are highly educated and occupy important positions in the country.

While it is true that in its early stages the church did not want its members to join secular education for fear of the white man’s doctrines, at independence the JMAC took education as a necessary development for their children. From an analysis of the questionnaires and interviews administered it was common to receive responses, which stated that children were allowed to go as far as university level in education. One of the

teachers at St. Noah Secondary School, who did not want his name to be identified, said that more than 25% of the staff/teachers at the Primary and Secondary Schools are members of the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church.⁴³ This in itself is a clear sign that the church values education and it is not true that all girls are disadvantaged because of early marriages.

The JMAC has realized the importance of education, such that they started building schools, with the first one being St. Noah College, right in the heart of Mafarikwa.⁴⁴ The state of the art school, which has an enrolment from grade one to A' Level, has changed the face of the drought-prone area with its modern buildings.

The then president of Zimbabwe, Comrade R.G. Mugabe, acknowledged the development the church was making in promoting education in his speech read on his behalf by the then Minister of State for Manicaland Provincial Affairs, Comrade Christopher Mushohwe. President Mugabe pointed out that the Government acknowledges with gratitude the church's move in the promotion of education as evidenced by the self-help construction of the first-class St Noah College comprising primary and secondary schools, in record time. The President also acknowledged the establishment of St Makebo Primary in the northwestern part of Marange, and the preparation to establish another school in Nyanga District of Manicaland. He also praised them for their commitment as an African church to demonstrate equity in the provision of educational opportunity to the boy and the girl child through their resolve to establish first-class schools.⁴⁵ This alone is a clear sign that the church is now serious with education and it is rearing to go. It is not surprising to see them establishing a college or university considering the time they took to come up with 4 schools in Manicaland in a very short space of time.

⁴³ Int. NN, 1.12.2016.

⁴⁴ Cletus Mushanawani, "Spare us from Stereotypes, Says Mapositori," <http://bulawayo24.com/index-id-opinion-sc-columnist-byo-50816.html> [20.5.2017].

⁴⁵ Int. Maxwell Murombo, 20.4.2017.

As if this was not enough, the administration of St. Noah College in liaison with the Ministry of Education, Mutare district, organized an educational symposium in which Mutare Polytechnic College was the main facilitating institution together with Mutare Teachers' and Mary Mount Teachers' colleges on 1st and 2nd December 2016. The purpose of the symposium was to inform the community of what these colleges offer and the entry qualifications specifically focusing on those who did not get the chance to continue with school. Mutare Polytechnic has a wide range of courses, which only require people to be able to read and write. I was privileged to attend this function representing Mutare Teachers' College. In his words, the District Schools Inspector Mr. Chikwangwani confirmed that the symposium was one of its own kind since he joined the district offices and that it happened through the initiative of the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church related institution. This kind of support of educational programmes shows that the church is in a clear dialogue with educational development.

Possible Influencing Factors

In an interview with the Member of Parliament for Mutare West constituency, Mr Mushohwe Christopher, concerning the birth of schools in the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church, the Minister pointed out that the idea was a brain child of His Excellency, President R.G. Mugabe. The President shared this vision with the church in his speech when he first visited the Mafarikwa Shrine in July 2010. In his speech he made it clear that the girls and the boys of the church need education. The president is said to have challenged the church by saying, "what is your difference with these main line churches which runs schools across the country?"⁴⁶

The minister had a follow-up meeting with the High Priest, Noah Taguta Momberume, where he emphasized that if they build a school it will be a great honour to President Mugabe, and this led to the birth of St Noah College. Originally the school was called Makoto Primary School, and

⁴⁶ Int. Christopher Mushohwe, 22.4.2017.

later it changed to St. Noah College in honour of the High Priest, Noah Taguta.

The minister said:

The church is self-sustaining as it used qualified builders from its ranks and files to do the construction work of the primary school, which took less than 5 months to complete the primary school.⁴⁷

Through his influence the minister harnessed Mbada diamonds to chip in with financial assistance of \$286,000, but most of the work was done by the church members. This interview with the minister helped in that it gave us a different dimension from what we had got from the members of the church who believed that the idea of building schools originated with the High Priest, except for one who said it came from the government.

This means that JMAC is now participating in the education sector in a significant way because it is now impacting on the whole community irrespective of religion or denomination.

Also, when people get education, they develop a critical mind such that they will not take things without questioning. This could have caused some of the changes in the JMAC. A good example can be the issue of not taking medicine. According to Johanne Marange he heard these words from God,

God chose you since your birth so that you can do his work. From today onwards you shall not take any type of medicine or herbs, nor even to taste. You shall not fall sick during those two years!⁴⁸

The two years referred to are 1930 and 1931 up until when he established the African Apostles Church, which God had told him to establish in 1932.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ New Testament of the Apostle, An unpublished booklet of the JMAC believed to contain the words of Johanne Marange, p. 5.

An analysis of these words seems to suggest that this instruction was going to last for two years, and in those two years Johanne was not going to fall sick.

With many educated people in this church, it is possible that some are now interpreting that instruction differently from the way it was interpreted, hence, the paradigm shift. It is possible to interpret that the instruction not to take medicine or herbs was only for the waiting period before the establishment of the church. One other member, who chose not to be named because of fear of victimization, pointed out that this issue was once discussed and the elders of the church, who accused the young generation for questioning the words of the Almighty God, which were given through His prophet Johanne Marange, dismissed it. This could be the reason why some members take their families to hospitals in private. This would mean that the dialogue between JMAC and development is being influenced by education.

On another note, the establishment of schools has ushered in a good time for the health teams when they have to immunize children because they will just go to schools and have them immunized with ease. In 2015, when the Ministry of Health was immunizing children against measles and rubella, they recorded the highest number of children immunized in Mafarikwa area because at St. Noah Primary School they immunized more than 2000 children in day one.⁴⁹

The JMAC and Politics

It is important to highlight that African Independent Churches kept religion and politics separate during the colonial period and the 1980s, but this was difficult from the 1990s up to date.⁵⁰ The AICs were silent about politics in the colonial period and the postcolonial period from 1980 to 1990. They were also not visible in national politics because poverty in Zimbabwe was not as widespread and deep-rooted as it is today. The

⁴⁹ "Vapostori Consent to Immunization," www.thezimbabwenewslive.com/uncategorised-8420html, [20.5.2017].

⁵⁰ Matthew Eric Engelke, *A Problem of Presence: Beyond Scripture in an African Church*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.

AICs' position during this time was that the church should stay away from politics because religion and politics do not mix, and it was ungodly for a true Christian to be involved in politics, for politics belonged in the devil's domain.⁵¹ This was difficult to maintain because the political parties started scrambling for supporters, which led the ruling party to force the AICs to rally behind them. The implication here is that the getting too close to politics affected the ministry of the AICs, let alone the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church.

One of the senior members of the JMAC pointed out that they did not invite President Mugabe to attend their annual Passover meeting at Mafarikwa Village in 2010 when he first visited the shrine, but the President, Robert Mugabe, is said to have imposed himself on the proceedings and we believe that there must have been a meeting earlier with the church hierarchy.⁵² This is how politics got into the JMAC. From this incident, some JMAC members were labelled as sell-outs and MDC supporters because they were courageous enough to defend the church's doctrine of staying out of politics and questioning the church leaders who unfortunately were suspected to have accepted financial favours from ZANU-PF cadres.⁵³ This resulted in leaders becoming more vulnerable to the pressure, and, thus, danced according to the ZANU-PF tune. This was a calculated move by the ruling party to try and gain political mileage come election time. As pointed out earlier, this could have been a well calculated move by the government to use the people within to effect change within the JMAC.

According to Samson Rungwe, most of the JMAC members were of the view that they knew their true church's position as far as their religious group's beliefs and party politics were concerned.⁵⁴ Most of the members made it clear that they were not aligned to ZANU-PF. They showed that they were grown-up individuals and knew what was good for the country.

⁵¹ Terrence Ranger, *Revolt in Southern Rhodesia, 1896-97*, London: Heinemann, 1967.

⁵² Int. Mark Maforo, 20.4.2017.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Int. Samson Rungwe, 20.4.2017.

As a church, JMAC did not participate in partisan political activities. For them the issue of voting was personal and one was entitled to his or her right to vote for a person he or she wanted without fear.

This scramble for supporters did not end with ZANU-PF, but MDC also joined with the hope of getting supporters. The two parties had their own differences, the MDC did not use violence while ZANU-PF would apply some violence where it deemed fit. The MDC used economic and social development, justice and peace as their trump cards to win the presidency. Tsvangirai addressed a JMAC gathering in Mutare in 2009 in which the leader had two missions: (1) To persuade the JMAC members to vote for him, and (2) to encourage the JMAC members who had been discouraged to use modern medicine, and to have their children immunized against tetanus, polio, measles, diphtheria, tuberculosis and whooping cough by their leadership.⁵⁵ This actually showed that the MDC was a clear and direct opposite of ZANU-PF.

According to Machoko, the Christians in Zimbabwe were generally ethically conservative for they were Bible believing Christians before this political influence.⁵⁶ The agenda of liberalism, which divided the western church, had not yet entered Zimbabwe as far as Christianity was concerned. The two main political parties in Zimbabwe, MDC and ZANU-PF, had their political agendas, which were nowhere near the expectations of Zimbabwean Christians. The MDC, which had its base and origins in the Trade Union movement with its progressive agenda, was a liberal political party. Liberalism, in general, supported same sex marriages, abortion, gay and lesbian priests, euthanasia and divorce, which were viewed by Zimbabwean Christians as unbiblical from their own interpretation of the Bible. If the JMAC Christians were aware of such details they could have not even listened or allowed the MDC leader to address them in the first place.

⁵⁵ Collis Garikai Machoko, "African Initiated Churches and Party Politics: Zimbabwean Experience," in *The International Journal of African Catholicism*, vol. 4, no. 1, Winter, 2013.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

ZANU-PF was a socialist party with its base in authoritarian nationalism and socialism. It advocated socialism, which in its communist-materialistic sense was antireligious. Neither of the political parties advocated the wishes of Zimbabwean Christians in general, and in particular, the wishes of JMAC, as far as their spirituality was concerned. An analysis of these two parties' political agendas would show that the success of these parties in penetrating the hierarchy of the JMAC was going to affect the flow of things in the church.⁵⁷

One can safely conclude that the influence of these parties on the Johanne Marange Apostolic Church must have led to some of the changes in the beliefs and practices of the church, because when people start seeing things differently, they tend to oppose each other's actions. No wonder why we now have people who view the use of modern medicine as something that does not affect their faith. With this in mind it is justified to talk about the rewriting of the sacred script in the JMAC.

Summary of the Findings

The JMAC has never been comfortable to accept other people's beliefs and practices in replacement of their own beliefs. This is why the church has maintained the belief that none of their members will take western medicine. This is binding on the fact that the founder of the church Johanne Marange received the rules and regulations of the JMAC through the direct dictation of the Holy Spirit. With such a background it is difficult to accept the statutes of the Human Rights charter without question.

Reading through the New Testament of the Apostles, we are told that in 1931 Johanne was tempted to take boxing herbs and in the evening the Word said to him, "What did you do today?" he confessed and the word said, "Now watch and see what will happen to those that believe in herbs and medicine." Johanne was burnt from feet to knees by a fire he had never seen on earth in a vision. God then instructed him to throw away the herbs and medicines and was told not to touch them again if he

⁵⁷ Ibid.

wanted to go to heaven.⁵⁸ According to him medicine is fire that burns as he witnessed in the vision.

With this in mind, one would not expect a member of the JMAC to start taking medicine because they all want to go to heaven after this life. It is also true that some people are also living well without turning to the modern medicines, surviving by holy waters and prayers only.

It has also been observed that the JMAC started within a community that had other churches like the Methodist Church, Apostolic Faith Mission and Watch Tower. These churches helped, and possibly hindered, in some areas the development of the JMAC. It is from this environment that the JMAC developed a negative attitude towards education because the kind of education then undermined the African way of life. JMAC gained mileage because of this for it brought a church with an Africanized flavour with African leaders. This serves to show that the community has an impact on anything living within its borders.

The Johanne Marange Apostolic Church from its inception worked well with the government because it was not rebellious in nature. It is this character which made it work well with the current government. In general, the church respects all the leaders of the secular world following what apostle Paul in Romans 13 said, that all leaders are from God. It is within this background that we have noted the possible factors that influenced the paradigm shift from the traditional beliefs and practices to what we have today in the JMAC.

From the research we have found out that the paradigm shift has been influenced by a number of factors. First, the community in which the JMAC members find themselves has influenced the change on health matters. As members of the community they cannot be found doing their own things especially when there is a national programme being administered to all children against measles for example. Being a church that claims to respect the government and traditional leaders, it is difficult for

⁵⁸ The New Testament of the Apostles, An unpublished booklet of the JMAC believed to contain the words of Johanne Marange, p. 6.

them not to respect the order given by the authorities. This has actually led some members to realize that what they have been missing is actually lifesaving to their children and hence started visiting the medical people privately to have their children treated whenever they fell sick. The High Priest himself also buttresses this pressure from the community when he allows children to be immunized at the annual Passover gatherings at Mafarikwa following a call from the government.

Secondly, because Zimbabwe is a member country of the United Nations, it is mandatory that it follows the statutes of the Human Rights Charter in relation to health and education of all children. Being a church in Zimbabwe JMAC is also expected to follow what Zimbabwe has agreed to do. Thus, the Human Rights laws have also influenced JMAC to accept health programmes for children and to stop child marriages within the church.

Thirdly, the government through the then President, Robert Mugabe has influenced the position of the church in terms of education since the High Priest, Noah Taguta Momberume, accepted to take on board the vision of the President that the church should run schools so as to educate the girls and boys of the church, so that the church is now running three primary schools and one secondary school. This kind of development has brought change to the way people see the church. Also, this development in education could have influenced the shift from denying modern medicine to accepting it because education creates a critical thinking in people and people start seeing things differently as has been mentioned that older members of the church are always clashing with the younger generation on issues of health.

Lastly, the political environment has also influenced the shift from the traditional beliefs and practices to what is happening today because the members of JMAC are now siding with political parties. The moment they get into political parties they accept divisions among themselves. That leads them to rejecting whatever those who are not on their side say. That opposition will definitely affect the church beliefs. It is possible that the position, which the church is in today, is a result of such political differences.

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Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, the former President of Tanzania, once said that the purpose of development should be to lift up the life of human beings created in the image and likeness of God. The varied chapters in this book show that the principal component of development and its major objective should be to develop people in all walks of life without discrimination. It should have a positive impact on the poor and the rich, the literate and illiterate, urban and rural, men and women, young and old, citizens as much as migrant labourers across the religious spectrum. This is the only way in which development can bring prosperity for all and not for the privileged few. In this regard, religion should play a crucial role in development in order to enhance the dignity, freedom, honour and wholeness of the people of God. We strongly commend this book to all involved in the development of the peoples of Southern and Central Africa.

Professor James N. Amanze, Gaborone
(ATISCA SECRETARIAT)



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